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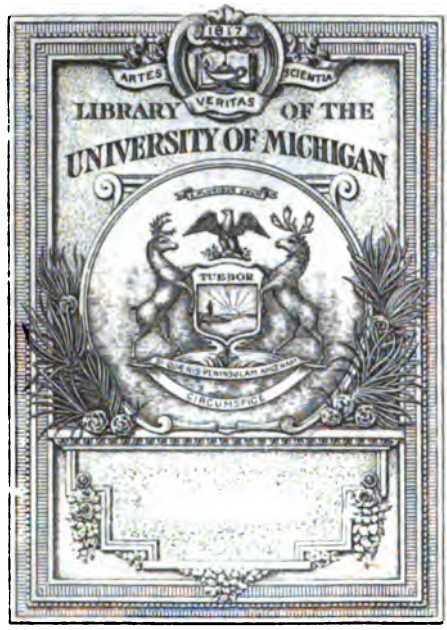
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A

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES,

CONTAINING THE

NATURAL, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL

History of each Island:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

MISSIONS

INSTITUTED IN THOSE ISLANDS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR CIVILIZATION;

BUT MORE ESPECIALLY OF THE

MISSIONS

WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THAT ARCHIPELAGO

By the Society

Late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley.

By THOMAS COKE, LL.D.
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Liverpool:
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DEDICATION.

TO THE

Subscribers towards the West India Missions.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

I dedicate to you these Volumes from the joint influence of gratitude and duty, and as a tribute of acknowledgment for that benevolence which has marked your conduct towards the interests of Jesus Christ.

As a minister of that gospel which is able to make us wise unto salvation, I feel the weight of those favors which have resulted from your kindness; and I also indulge my feelings, while I acknowledge my inability to cancel the obligations which you have conferred.

In dedicating this Work to you, I do not pretend, either to bestow a favor, or to discharge a debt. I have acknowledged the obligations I feel myself under, as an instrument through which you have transmitted your bounty; and my inability to remove the pleasing burden, gives you a right, when you behold this Publication, to expect a Dedication from me. I

rejoice, therefore, in meeting with an occasion in which the feelings of my heart happily concur with the justice of your claims; and in which the sensations of benevolence and gratitude can be expressed in such language, as will neither be flattering, offensive, nor unjust.

As the Work before you is chiefly indebted to your beneficence for those evidences of Christianity which it records, to suppress this acknowledgment would be ungrateful, and to transfer the obligation to another object would be unjust. I have not ingratitude enough for the former, nor baseness enough to be guilty of the latter; the Work therefore approaches you as its legitimate parents, and comes to present you with a full survey of that distant monument, which your joint benefactions, under the grace and providence of God, have contributed to raise.

Having acted as a medium of your bounty, and transmitted beyond the Atlantic the favors which you have so generously conferred, it is a duty which I owe both to myself and to you, to give some account of the issues of your liberal actions, that you may, from these circumstances, calculate upon the effects of your munificence, and permit that calculation to operate in the direction of your future course. To what height your expectations may be raised, I take not upon me to determine; but flatter myself that the present Work will fully convince you, that your donations have not been bestowed in vain.

The sacred monument, which, under God, you have been made instrumental in raising to the efficacy of divine grace, among the swarthy inhabitants of the torrid zone, cannot fail to fill you with gratitude towards God. And while you contemplate this result of your efforts with joy, and feel it to be a medium of consolation to yourselves, you have held out, without designing it, an example to future ages, which your posterity will reflect on with pleasure, and which must be admired by the serious part of mankind.

The dignity which unavoidably associates itself with such modes of conduct as you have displayed, may probably excite, in future generations, a noble emulation to imitate the example which you have so conspicuously held out to the Christian world, when your names are enrolled in the annals of eternity—an example which I flatter myself will be imitated by your posterity, and which will produce effects, which the progress of time will not be able to erase from the records of piety.

The salutary effects which have resulted from your liberal exertions, stand as a conspicuous demonstration, that those who are sunk in heathenish darkness, are not outcasts of the divine mercy. And the work which God has wrought among the Negroes unequivocally proves, that he has accepted of your sincere endeavours to promote the interests of the gospel, and that he has happily instructed us to adapt

the means he has taught us to use, to the important end at which we have sincerely aimed.

How far this may stimulate our cotemporaries and successors, either to follow our example, or to improve upon the plan which we have adopted, it would be presumptuous to say. Prudence, on this occasion, lays an embargo on those anticipations which our sanguine wishes would urge us to express; we must therefore repose our thoughts in reluctant silence, and calmly wait the event.

Conscious of that integrity which has marked our actions, and guided our conduct, in those once unpromising regions of the globe—and animated by those successes with which God has been pleased to crown our endeavours—we must do violence to our feelings to reflect on our efforts with regret.

Our primary endeavours embarked in some degree on adventure, but with no small confidence, at the same time, on the blessing of God. Success has justified the experiment; it has given sanction to future enterprize, and therefore perseverance in the ancient path becomes a duty which requires no comment.

We are taught, from contemplating that train of events which lies before us, to behold in the present state of existence an ample recompence for all our toils. We are already repaid in the success of our en-

deavours for what is past: and this requital, from the God of all grace and consolation, becomes a source of confidence, on which, in missionary prospects, we build our hopes of future blessings from on high.

That the contributions made by you have produced no pecuniary embarrassments in your temporal circumstances, is a truth which I flatter myself you will readily allow. It is a point which I submit to your own decision; and confident of the issue, to your deliberate judgments I now appeal.

Not being impoverished by your generous exertions, the felicities which you have been made instrumental in communicating to thousands, must have returned upon yourselves, in those pleasing reflections which still inhabit your bosoms. The actions which afford you these reflections, must be a continual source of gratification; and, while you give all the glory to God, they must administer to you a species of pleasure, which is neither embittered by the anguish of repentance, nor the torments of remorse. They are such as you need not blush to own, either in your departing moments, or in the day of retribution.

But what are these momentary satisfactions, when compared with the felicities of eternity! Though great and exquisite in themselves, they shrink from all comparison with that happiness which will be infinite in its duration, as well as permanent and pure in its nature. The pleasures of time are destined to

decay; but the joys which these reflections afford you, will revive again with brighter lustre beyond the grave, and flourish with unfading beauty in eternity.

To meet, in a world of spirits, thousands of our Negro brethren, who shall have happily escaped from the corruptions of their own hearts, and the miseries which result from guilt, through the merits of that Saviour, whose infinite love we have been made instrumental in communicating, must be a source of joy which we have not language sufficiently energetic to express, and which will submit to no description. The arduous task imposes silence on me; and my powers are absorbed in the pleasing contemplation. I anticipate the scene with an ecstasy that overwhelms me. I sink beneath the pressure of that glory, which is too exalted to be told, and too dazzling to be pursued; and humbly join my prayers to yours that we may be "stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

That the light of the gospel may be diffused through the nations of the earth, till all shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest, holds an exalted station among my most ardent wishes; and that you may realize in eternity those felicities which you anticipate in time, is the earnest and sincere prayer of

Your much obliged,
affectionate, and faithful Servant,
THOMAS COKE.

PREFACE.

BEFORE the Reader enters on the History, it may be necessary that he should be apprized of what he is to expect. The Work is divided into three grand departments, the NATURAL, CIVIL, and ECCLESIASTICAL.

Of the natural and civil departments, he needs only to be informed, that they will include the geographical situation, extent, and productions of the different Islands; and the various changes in government and law, which the progress of events has obliged each Island to undergo.

In that department which is of an ecclesiastical nature, the efforts which have been made to introduce our holy religion, by the Moravian Brethren, and by the Incorporated Society in London, will be duly noticed; together with those Missions which have been established by the late Rev. John Wesley, and by the Methodist Conference late in connexion with that great man; Missions which have been owned of God in a peculiar manner, and which continue to flourish to the present day. The various successes which have marked these distinct endeavours to propagate Christianity, will be introduced before the Reader, and noticed with the strictest impartiality, in the survey of the different Islands which will appear before us. And since the preaching of the gospel has been attended with considerable success, a relation of its progress, and of the happy effects which have resulted from it, will form one prominent branch of the present undertaking.

To survey the changes which have been wrought through the efficacy of divine grace, must afford pleasure to the sincere friends of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It must fill their souls

with gratitude, and their tongues with praises, to hear how many brands have been plucked from the burnings, and rescued from heathenish and savage darkness, to besiege the throne of grace with fervent prayer.

But while in the progress of this work, we shall attentively examine the riches of divine grace, in its various manifestations towards the tawny multitudes that inhabit the Islands to which we shall be introduced, the natural and civil history of each Island will neither be overlooked as a matter of no moment, nor will it be cursorily ushered into view. The scene of action will be primarily considered, before we venture on any missionary intelligence; and such ample details given, as will display the wonders of creative power, as well as those of redeeming love. The natural and civil history of these Islands will hold an eminent station from first to last, which will be interspersed with such remarks as occasional circumstances may require; such as have a tendency to impress the mind with seriousness, and to lead the attentive reader from the regions of "nature up to nature's God."

The history therefore which is now about to be presented to the reader, may be considered as consisting of two grand divisions. The former will be of the natural and civil, and the latter of a missionary or religious nature. In the natural and civil departments, which in each island will be first introduced, no production of nature to which this burning climate has given birth, if deemed interesting to the European reader, will be omitted; nor will any variety either of nature or of art be passed by unnoticed.

The discovery, situation, extent, and productions; the climate, fertility, soil, and *original* natives, whether Caribbs or Apalachians, will regularly rise into view before the reader in three general chapters, which will begin this work. In these chapters we shall endeavour to introduce such subjects as are of general application to all the islands, and present the reader in one comprehensive view with an epitome of nature in this Archipelago, which constitutes no contemptible portion of the western world.

In fine, nothing which either historical narration, regular correspondence, or personal observation can supply, shall be wanting to render this history complete, so far as completion can associate with the imperfections of such compositions. But the whole must stand or fall by its merits or defects: it is only the latter that can sink it into disgrace, and only the former that can entitle it to public patronage and support.

As the progress of Christianity in foreign regions has been chiefly indebted, under the free and infinite grace of God, to the benevolent exertions of individuals, who have formed themselves into societies for the express purpose of spreading the gospel in distant parts, it may not be improper, after having given some general views of the islands which make the grand subject of our history, to give a concise account of the most considerable missions which have been sent into foreign climates, in these latter ages of the world. As men and as Christians, we ought to feel ourselves interested in this department, since it is through missionary societies, instrumentally, that true religion has been introduced into the West Indies, and been attended with such unexampled success, though both primarily and ultimately the glory belongs to God alone.

These historical views of missionary progress will be of universal application. They will occasionally be applied to these Islands, to China, and to the northern continent of America; and by introducing them in this extensive way, the reader will be able to form a comparative estimate of missionary successes, when we proceed to make an inquiry into the various events which have marked the gospel in each individual island. It may however be necessary, when we come to examine each island particularly, to recapitulate and select the outlines of those general observations, and refer the reader to these chapters for such branches of the missionary narrative as are there sufficiently noticed. With these views before us, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark, that the West India Archipelago will be our central spot, and after we have ended the general chapters, these islands will bound our observations.

The discovery of America by Columbus, and of those Islands in particular which will be the theatre of our researches, being of common application, will be introduced before we proceed to the particular investigation of any island either in a natural or missionary point of view. Such portions of the natural history of each island as will submit to general description, will be introduced in the general account, to which the reader must refer, if necessary, when he proceeds through the islands which will pass before him in review. Those branches therefore of the natural history which are only applicable to particular islands, will be exclusively confined to those local spots: they may be considered as streams branching from the general history, and winding along through vallies, districts, and territories, which are peculiarly their own.

The missionary intelligence, which must necessarily be progressive, will of course be continued onward with the progress of time, and will bear a prominent part in this work, even when its termination shall close the scene. The natural and civil departments of this history must therefore occupy the first pages in every chapter into which they can be introduced, and will frequently end in those places where missionary intelligence will usually begin.

The missionary information which is about to be presented to the world, not being drawn from the musty shelves of antiquity, but from the fountain-head of existing facts, which are now in actual being, will unfold resources which are inexhaustible. Intelligence will be constantly arriving from the different islands; and, in this view, a period seems to be precluded, through the nature of the undertaking. To obviate this literary inconveniency, it will be found in all probability necessary to have recourse to an appendix, which will give the latest intelligence which can be obtained, and with this the work shall finally close.

The appendix, which thus seems absolutely necessary from the circumstances which have been stated, will be almost entirely of

a missionary nature, and will apply to those islands to which its different portions will refer. It may include personal anecdotes, and biographical sketches or detached circumstances, which have no immediate connexion with the general history, though perfectly applicable as appendages, or as circumstances which serve to elucidate the leading features of the work.

The history itself will proceed onward in the mean while, independently of these subsequent considerations; and its different branches will be pursued according to the plan which is now arranged. The first chapter will contain a general description of the Islands; the second and third, an account of the original natives; and the fourth, a general survey of the most important missions which are any way connected with them.

We shall afterwards proceed with the natural and civil history of Jamaica, and then with the missionary intelligence belonging to that island. After this we shall take a survey of the other Islands in like manner, considering each in a separate and detached point of view, till, having passed through the whole, we shall notice, by way of appendix, such subsequent information as may arrive too late to be inserted in its proper place.

In a work like the present it must naturally be expected, that the writer will avail himself of every authority already extant. He should indeed deem himself highly culpable in omitting this; and, in fact, he will find it difficult, on many occasions, to avoid expressing himself, on the same common topics, in nearly the same language as his predecessors. To prevent therefore repeated quotations, and long notes of reference, which occupy a considerable portion of some of our modern histories, he thinks it incumbent on him to declare in this place, that he has consulted the following early Spanish, Italian, and French historians, who have written on the West Indies:—Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Herrara, Rochfort, Du Tertro, and La Bat; and the modern much esteemed philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies by the Abbé Raynal. He has also consulted the following

excellent compositions of our own countrymen—Robertson's History of America; Sloane, Long, and Beckford, on Jamaica; and lastly, the third edition lately published of a very accurate, and ample, civil and commercial History of the British West Indies, by Bryan Edwards, Esq. to whom the palm of superiority may be justly assigned.*

But ample and accurate as the last mentioned history is, it is considerably defective in one important point, to which if Mr. Edwards had paid any tolerable attention, he would have superseded the present work, and precluded the necessity of all engagements in this undertaking. The progress of Christianity in these Islands, through the instrumentality of British Protestant ministers; the conversion of the people of colour and of the Negroes, together with the happy effects which result from all, now form a considerable branch in the history of the colonies—so considerable, that it cannot with justice be omitted without exposing the author to the censure of partiality, and leaving the history really incomplete. But strange as it may appear, though Mr. Edwards has published three large volumes entirely on the West Indies, and sent them into the world so recently, and at a time when the progress of the missions was well known to those who were conversant with the affairs of that part of the globe, and therefore could not escape his notice, not more than three pages, in all his work, are devoted to the cause of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

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* From these authorities which we have thus cited, a variety of important information has been collected and incorporated in the present work, of which no further account need be taken. Nor is this mode of proceeding without a precedent. The editor of a new edition of Guthrie's Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar, has inserted, verbatim, copious extracts from Mr. Edwards, of which he makes a similar acknowledgment in a short advertisement. Mr. Bryan Edwards also in his turn observes, "I have endeavoured to collect useful knowledge wheresoever it lay; and when I found books that supplied what I sought, I have sometimes been content to adopt without alteration what was thus furnished to my hands." *Edwards' West Indies*, Preface, 1st Edition, p. 10.

The present undertaking may therefore be considered as entering into the world to supply that deficiency, and to fill up that chasm which Mr. Edwards has left in his excellent history, which, for its legitimacy and accuracy, can hardly be exceeded. The work now presented to the public is not written to controvert facts which he has stated, nor to correct errors into which he has fallen; it is not to trace out incidents which he has omitted, or to record transactions which he had no means of knowing; but to rescue from oblivion a department of history, which must be particularly interesting to the religious world; and to acquaint posterity with those glorious effects which have resulted from the preaching of the gospel in different periods in the West Indies, from the time that settlements were first made in those islands by European nations.

But since a detail solely of religious transactions, if all natural and civil history were to be excluded, would render this work defective on the opposite extreme, and subject it to a charge of partiality, which must be deemed reprehensible, and would, without the local circumstances of time and place, render it irksome to many minds, the natural and civil history of each island is introduced.

By this method, while the religious reader is intent upon the work which God has carried on, and is still carrying on, in those parts, he may behold in one view, both the field of action and the success of the gospel of Christ. And by contemplating the varied productions of the world, in different regions, he may see fresh occasions to magnify the varied displays of omnipotent power; and, from every scene of wonder, he may ascribe glory to God. But, on the contrary, those who feel but little or no interest in that intelligence which is purely missionary, will discover an ample fund of information in the departments of civil and natural history, into which this narration largely enters. In fine, they will find nothing omitted that has reached our notice either of ancient or modern history, which could render this undertaking either interesting to them, or worthy of their regard.

The ancient histories of these islands, which have been consulted on this occasion, furnish us with all the information that can now be obtained relative to their original state, when first visited by Europeans. To these records we have already appealed, and shall appeal, as occasions may require. But such delineations as have been taken by modern historians from inquiry and observation, the author of this work will be able to confirm, correct, or elucidate, as circumstances may direct.

Profiting therefore by his predecessors who have trodden the same path both in ancient and modern days, and having made his own observations in his repeated visits to these Islands, he flatters himself that nothing will be wanting to render this work generally interesting, and extensively useful, to the different classes of readers into whose hands it may occasionally fall. Above all preceding histories of the West Indies, this will have one exclusive advantage, that, while in common with theirs it examines nature in her warmest recesses, it describes the progress of vital religion in the torrid zone.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the different sciences which have tended through every age to embellish human life, the department of History has always held a distinguished rank. In the civilized nations of Europe it constitutes a considerable branch of liberal education; and a familiar acquaintance with past ages has always been esteemed an indispensable accomplishment. It elevates its individual possessor in the scale of society, and raises the contemplative mind from those local confines which bound our present state of existence.

It is a department of science which unfolds the latent windings of the human heart, and affords the fairest opportunities through which we may trace those actions to their genuine sources, which appear in themselves uncertain and problematical, because their origin is involved in shade. It opens a communication with ages which are now lost in the ocean of eternity, and gives to us the real and unvarnished characters of *statesmen*, *divines*, *philosophers*, and *heroes*; on each of which the mind may expatiate with freedom, unbiased by prejudices, and uninfluenced either by hopes or fears.

It is a science which enables us, without the uncertainty of experiment, to connect the motive with the end; and to view with steady light a simple measure in its remotest consequences, without being impeded by those obstacles, or encircled by those mists and shadows, that frequently obscure to the more immediate spectator the scene of action; which, through these obstructing mediums, dazzles with a superficial glare, and bewilders and confounds, instead of imparting information.

It is a science which enables us to hold communion with different parts of the peopled globe, to estimate those national characters which we survey, and to observe those tints and shades which distinguish man from man. It teaches us, by our observations on mankind, how to improve by their disasters, and how to profit by their experiments, without either the hazard of miscarriage, or the mortification of disgrace. And by thus opening an intercourse with distant ages and regions, we not only discover the different productions of every climate, and every zone, but we have an opportunity of estimating the extent and diversity of the human intellect, in all its progressive stages of improvement,

from perfect barbarism to mere civilization, and from mere civilization to the exalted refinements of polished life.

Through an acquaintance with History, we learn the advantages which result from a state of society; in which each man contributes to his brother's wants, and increases his own security by the advantages which he imparts. And from these advantages we are taught also to view the inconveniences which are inseparable from that state of savage solitude, in which every one must lie exposed to the depredations of his neighbour, without having it in his power to appeal to a coercive authority, which, in the present degenerate condition of man, can alone enforce the claims of eternal justice.

By an acquaintance with History, we discover those latent and unsuspected causes, upon which the rise and fall of empires depend; we learn what objects contribute towards the stability of a people, and what modes of pursuit and conduct will inevitably terminate in decay. It places the mind of man upon an eminence from whence the eye wanders in immense excursions of reality; lives over those ages which elapsed before the deluge, and from whence we can survey with one glance an epitome of the world. It enables us, from a retrospection of the past, and a comprehension of the present, to form a probable calculation of the future, till time shall be no more. It enables us to connect *eternity* with *eternity*; and to behold it an encircling ocean, in which *time* and *man*, as to his present state, and the *works* of both, shall sink together, overwhelmed in the vast abyss.

An acquaintance with History is calculated to shew us the imbecility of all human efforts, as well as the shortness of human life; that death will ultimately sweep away the human race; and that time will at last destroy the most permanent labours of man. It will convince us, by the most indubitable evidence, that our triumphal arches must decay; that our most stately monuments must totter to their base; and that the most superb mausoleum must mingle with that dust which it was destined to protect. It will enable us to contemplate, with instructive reflections, the instability of all human grandeur and beauty; and assure us that nothing is in a state of safety which lies beneath the sun, unless it have an immediate connexion with God. It will induce the mind to sicken with disgust at the uncertainty of worldly glory, and to investigate with unremitting attention those sacred records which teach us to look to the Author of our being to find stability and repose; and will lead us to place all our confidence in him, and in those objects which can neither expire nor change.

In these views the able historian at once instructs and entertains us, and communicates information through the mediums of delight. He pleases the fancy, while he informs the judgment;

and, directing us to what is right by pointing out what is wrong, he corrects the sallies of our passions while he meliorates the heart. On these accounts the faithful historian may be considered as a public benefactor, by imparting moral lessons to mankind. For these reasons he stands highly in the public estimation, and holds the foremost place in the republic of letters. It is to his faithful page that scientific men resort; it is he that decides debates in the literary world; who fixes the boundaries of remote antiquity, and from whose decisions there can be no appeal.

It is through his faithful page that we have any acquaintance with ancient times, or with those branches of science which have enriched the world. It is only through this medium that we know how the world was originally peopled, that we know our own origin, and can trace our end. Through this we can account for the diversity of language, and trace the myriads of human beings that now swarm the world, up to one common parent; and learn that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth. But for the page of history our sciences would still be in a state of embryo, to-morrow would be ignorant of the transactions of to-day, and one generation could hold no communication with another.

But for the unerring page of *sacred History*, we should have known nothing of the conduct of God towards the human race; all his dispensations would have been alike concealed; and, where we now behold redemption, and the amazing displays of infinite love, we should have seen nothing but a dreary blank, and must have contemplated futurity with horror. The origin of justice and of law would have been alike unknown; and our moral and intellectual condition would have been somewhat similar to that of the swarthy inhabitants of those islands which we are about to explore. To the sacred records we are indebted for the intelligence which we possess, for that light which we have to guide us in our inquiries into futurity, and through which we are enabled to discriminate between those actions which lead to rewards or punishments beyond the grave. It is sacred history that gives rationality to our faith, and energy to our hopes; that, under divine grace, teaches us how to pass through time with tranquillity, and to expect felicity in a future state.

History, in general, may be considered as a science without which all others would be almost useless; and without much impropriety we may denominate it *the memory of the world*. There is hardly a circumstance to which it will not apply; nor is there a science which it does not more or less include. The *natural*, the *civil*, and the *religious* world, it encircles in one enlarged embrace; and it is attentive to the vices as well as the virtues of mankind. The foibles and excellencies of human nature are delineated on

its records; and those characters which have been rendered conspicuous in either view, descend to posterity accompanied with infamy or renown.

But while the genius and pen of the historian have been so laboriously employed in filling whole volumes with relations of conquests and depredations; of battles, sieges, victories, and defeats, in which every page appears stained with blood; while he details with minute exactness the horrors of sanguinary revolutions, which involve the desolation of kingdoms and the murder of millions of the human race; it cannot be reflected on without regret, that so little has been written upon that most important of all concerns, the introduction, progress, and final establishment of the Christian religion among multitudes of those almost innumerable hosts of savages who inhabit the remoter regions of the globe. And yet it is to the gospel, that Great Britain, in all probability, stands indebted for the preservation of many of her richest colonial possessions even to the present day; that her swarthy subjects have not revolted like those of a neighbouring island; and committed those depredations on the white inhabitants, which humanity even shudders to name.

But whatever advantages may have resulted from the establishment of Christianity in foreign regions, it seems in general to have had little or no share in those historical departments of literature which have analyzed our insular possessions in the torrid zone. A solitary hint, a vagrant passage, or a detached paragraph, contains all that some voluminous works supply, relative to the progress of the gospel, though considerable portions are appropriated to points of no comparative moment; points which can hardly awaken curiosity, and in which interest seems to have little or no concern.

Commercial and political histories are in general what they profess. The writers of such volumes, however much they may develop the sources of human action, and unravel the latent windings of the human heart, calculate no higher than secondary causes. They make certain modes of policy the parents of commerce, and terminate their inquiries in a single branch. They estimate the advantages which result from commerce by the aggrandizements which ensue, and make the influx of wealth the boundary of their design.

The primary source of colonial advantages is frequently overlooked by colonial writers, and is lost in an effect, or a combination of effects, which result from it. Political manœuvres frequently monopolize that honour which belongs to the gospel, and their records ascribe to the ingenuity of man deliverances and preservations which belong solely to the providence of God. The interests which are rooted so deeply in the human breast,

are on such occasions the strongest incentives to action; and they influence the judgments of those who obey their dictates almost beyond the power of calculation. The ascendency of these interests suffers nothing to move beyond the boundaries of its sordid confines; and prompts its votaries to stigmatize with epithets of opprobrium those who presume to act with nobler aims.

When enterprises under the influence of ambition are directed towards fame, rather than the interests of the human race, they are not unlikely to arrogate those honours which are the produce of another soil: but let it be remembered, that it was Columbus who discovered America, though he was supplanted by power, and sent to Europe in chains.

Commercial advantages are, without all doubt, intimately connected with the policy of nations; but the internal action of that policy supposes the previous civilization of the subject. It is only civilization that can render policy beneficial, or give permanency to that intercourse with nations which interest wishes to keep alive. It is this which can alone fix the boundaries of right, give justice to coercion, and unite effective energy with law. Civilization must therefore be prior to all permanent advantages which can result from those compacts which policy establishes, and consequently in the scale of honour it holds a higher rank.

But while we admit civilization to hold this exalted rank in the rising scale of eminence, it would be unjust to bury in oblivion the active cause from whence it springs. The tribute of applause is without doubt due to every excellency: to withhold it is ungenerous; but to apply it erroneously is unjust.

The influx of wealth from distant regions may be justly ascribed to commerce; the establishment of commerce, to the excellencies of policy, in its direction of that civilization which must be admitted to have a previous existence; while the excellencies of policy can only arise from the superior state of refinement, which marks those European nations in which civilization softens into all the graces of polished life.

But when, from mere civilization, we turn our thoughts to that cause which chiefly contributes to its existence, we shall find it occupying the highest station, and therefore entitled to those superlative honours which can be considered as subordinate to nothing short of God. The benefits which result from our intercourse with distant parts depend upon the civilized state of the inhabitants; and our advantages are permanent or uncertain in proportion as barbarism is removed, and the cultivation of the human mind appears. It is therefore to this cause that we stand indebted for the various advantages which we receive, and which flow to us through the different mediums of civilization, of policy, and of commerce; and this cause is—the *gospel of Jesus Christ.*

It is to the establishment of the gospel that civilization in these latter ages is primarily indebted for its origin and support; it is this which becomes the cement of society; it is this which has given the decided preference to Christian nations, and rendered them so conspicuous for those sciences which are the ornaments of human nature, the boast of Europe, and the astonishment of the world. It is the establishment of the gospel which has opened the door to inquiry, and which promotes investigation; which leads investigation to discovery, and causes discovery to terminate in advantage; which enlarges the horizon of the human intellect, and calls into exertion all the latent powers of the soul.

But for the establishment of that gospel which infidels despise—which is a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness unto the Greeks, but which is the power of God unto salvation to those who believe and obey its precepts—civilization would have been unknown in its present extent. And but for civilization, even the wisdom of policy would be deprived of the power of action; and, under these views, both commerce and the wealth which flows from it would be alike unknown. It is therefore to the establishment of the gospel, in subordination to God, that we must look for those temporal blessings which we enjoy. It is this which can alone produce a radical reformation in human nature, and establish that reformation on a permanent foundation. It is this that rescues man from a state of barbarism, and, in proportion as it influences the human heart, promotes harmony and peace, and ensures a perpetuity of those intercourses which it so extensively opens.

The wars and devastations which at this moment disgrace Europe, and desolate some of the most fertile regions of the globe, will not militate against the positions which I have advanced. It is not the spirit of Christianity which leads to those calamities which we deplore, but an evident departure from it. The mild and peaceable spirit of the gospel produces a different mode of conduct, and totally condemns those wars and fightings which are promoted by the angry passions of the interested and ambitious, and points out to us, in the most unequivocal language, the genuine source from whence such actions proceed. The wars and fightings which are among us, St. James tells us (chap. iv. 1.) "come even of those lusts which war in our members," and are therefore generated in those angry passions which Christianity came to extract from the human soul.

It is that root of bitterness which is lodged so deeply in human nature, and which has not submitted to the efficacy of divine grace, which leads to those sanguinary excesses that have stained the ocean and drenched the plains with human blood. The ene-

mies of Christianity have therefore but little occasion to impute to her doctrines those contentions for empire which disgrace mankind, or to charge her with those actions which all her principles disown. It is a departure from her sober dictates that leads to criminal exploits, and promotes that discord which degrades humanity, which sanctions those deeds which her sincerest friends deplore, and produces that rapine and plunder which she shudders to behold.

The nominal professors of her holy doctrines have, in a variety of instances, acted in an unworthy manner, and implicated her, by their conduct, in that disgrace which they have procured for themselves. They have introduced her sacred name to sanctify the greatest enormities, and taken refuge under her banner, while they have stabbed her to the heart. Under the auspices of Christianity they have perpetrated the greatest villanies that perhaps may have ever disgraced human nature, and made a superstitious attachment to its cause the pretext of swelling the black catalogue of human woes. They have substituted coercion for the influence of persuasion, and made even instruments of cruelty to supplant the book of God. Urged on by superstition, they have inverted the order of the gospel, and perverted its design. They have even made religion a plea for murders of the most unnatural kind, and multiplied these perpetrations beyond all example, and, but for the precision of the attestation, beyond the reach of our belief.

In the history of those islands to which these papers will introduce us, we shall behold such instances of human depravity as will hardly admit of any parallel, and which for the honour of human nature we could wish to see falsified in fact: but the evidences are too strong for incredulity to grapple with, though they substantiate actions which are almost too shocking to admit belief. The evidences, and the facts which they record, serve however to demonstrate the authenticity of those sacred records to which we dare appeal, and which are the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes.

But while these base professors of Christianity, and real votaries of superstition, thus apparently disgrace the religion which they profess, and expose to calumny that cause which they externally espouse, it is but just that the gospel should be permitted to vindicate itself. Its language will explicitly disown such base professors, and such base profession as these professors make. It will fix the principles of human actions on their proper basis, and develop those causes which call them into being. The iniquities which we contemplate, will prove the depravity of the human heart, and bear testimony to that declaration which says, that "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God."

To rescue the gospel from those shades which infidelity and the vices of professors have thrown upon it, and to place it in that light which it unquestionably claims, by a faithful narrative of the labours of the CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES in the WEST INDIES, is the principal object of the following work. From the personal observations which the author has been enabled to make on the progress of Christianity in these islands, from taking a retrospective view of the original state of their inhabitants, and forming from thence a comparative estimate with their present condition; from having been honoured with the superintendency of these missions for a series of years; and from holding a regular correspondence with those ministers of Christ, who have left their native country to engage in that blessed work of spreading among the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ; he hopes, that without the imputation of vanity, he may be deemed somewhat qualified for that important narrative which he is about to present to the religious world. He is well aware, that while attempting to delineate a series of facts, which will necessarily introduce a train of circumstances in which he has borne an active part, it is not in his power to avoid the sneers which critical malevolence may pour upon his page. He may be accused of egotism, and his narrations may seem to partake of a supercilious air; they may appear to the superficial observer as inflated with arrogance and self-sufficiency; and in many cases he may expose himself and his publication to that reproach which the enemies of religion are ever forward to bestow. But he cannot conceive that these reasons are of sufficient weight to induce him to relinquish his design; nor to bury in oblivion that spread of the Redeemer's kingdom among the swarthy inhabitants of the West Indies, which will afford the Christian world a living testimony that Jesus hath still power on earth to forgive sins. He conceives that it is acting beneath the dignity of a minister of Jesus Christ, to suppress a relation of facts which will reflect honour on his Lord and Master, because he is afraid of man "whose breath is in his nostrils," and whose only weapons are ridicule and contempt. Regardless therefore of those scoffs to which this work may be exposed; without being solicitous of applause, or anxious to avert disdain; he shall aim, in the religious departments of these pages, to give a faithful account of that work which God has begun, and is still carrying on in the souls of the poor negroes; many of whom have given decisive proofs of the power of divine grace, and are now enabled to "rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh."

To those pious and benevolent Christians, who by their liberal benefactions have so amply contributed towards the institution of missions, and whose unwearied liberality continues to support

our *Missionary Society* to the present day, a detail like this which is about to be submitted to their inspection, must afford a new source of genuine gratification. To behold those happy changes which have been wrought in the souls of thousands of their fellow creatures through the efficacy of divine grace, and the instrumentality of that benevolence which they have manifested; to look back on their past munificence, and to view that munificence in immediate connexion with those glorious effects, which, while they behold, they contemplate with pleasure; must be sources of the most consummate delight that the mind of man is capable of receiving, from a review of actions which are past. They must afford a species of pleasure, which a repetition of reflection will continue to heighten, undisturbed by the pangs of remorse, and embittered by no alloy.

In reviewing the past, and comparing it with the present state of the negroes and people of colour, who now inhabit and are employed in the West India Islands, we enter a field to which the contemplative mind can set no bounds. The benevolent subscribers will feel with silent exultation, that they have been made, in conjunction with those evangelical ministers who have embarked in the blessed undertaking, the chosen instruments, in the hands of God, of accomplishing the salvation of myriads. When they survey these myriads in former years, sinking under barbarism and ignorance, a prey to every enormity, and utterly destitute of that consolation which the gospel of Jesus Christ alone can bestow; when they find that these inhabitants of the torrid zone, in the midst of adversities and afflictions, and bodily pains of this mortal life, can now look with tranquillity beyond the grave, in sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection to eternal happiness and rest, through the merit of that Saviour in whom they have believed, what shall we say?—it must unclose a fountain of consolation which time cannot encircle, which death cannot quench, and which not even eternity can destroy. It opens a prospect through which the pious mind may wander through interminable distances, and anticipate remotest consequences with pleasure. In this scene, the generous soul will enjoy the blessings which result from the prayers of thousands and tens of thousands, while she beholds those voices attuned to the praises of Jehovah, and those hearts swelling with gratitude too big for utterance, which were before abandoned to work uncleanness with greediness—while she views these hearts now abounding in the peaceable fruits of righteousness, in which, in days that are past, a repetition of crime had apparently stifled all remorse.

What can equal reflections like those which we have been

contemplating, arising from actions which issue in endless good? On such occasions,

> "One self-approving hour whole years outweighs
> "Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas,
> "And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels
> "Than Cæsar with the senate at his heels."

To contemplate the spread of the everlasting gospel; to see its benign and sacred influences diffused through the barbarous departments of human nature, and illuminating the benighted regions of the globe, must be a scene of the most exquisite delight to the sincere followers of Jesus Christ. To view myriads of our fellow-creatures rescued from vices of the most odious nature, and from ignorance the most consummate; from crimes which it would be even hateful to name, and which almost exceed belief; to survey these, now rejoicing in the God of their salvation, with a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory, must be a new source of joy even to angels; and must tend to enhance even the felicities of heaven. A scene more glorious can hardly be realized in the present state of things, than that which lies before us; in which the truths of the gospel are incontestably proved, in those living witnesses who can set to their seal that God is true, and declare from heartfelt experience that Jesus Christ hath power on earth to forgive sins—A scene, in which a general reformation of manners can only be considered as an effect resulting from an internal principle of divine grace, influencing the hearts and lives of so many thousands of our swarthy brethren, and leading them into all the "peaceable fruits of righteousness, to the honour and glory of God"—A scene, in which we behold those tongues ascribing salvation to God and the Lamb, which never before pronounced a Saviour's name; in which those, "who, in times past, yielded their members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity, now yield their members servants to righteousness unto holiness."

In thus contemplating the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom, the pious mind is elevated above those local distinctions which divide man from man; and aims at the nobler employment of "spreading among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ." On this ground, societies have been established, and charities have been instituted; missionaries have been sent out; the gospel has been preached; multitudes have heard; success has crowned endeavour; thousands have been converted to Jesus Christ; and many are now rejoicing in the kingdom of eternal bliss. The tidings of salvation which have been wafted across the vast Atlantic, have been received with the most unexampled affection; and the truths of Christianity which have been embraced and so cordially cherished, have been productive of the most blessed

effects. The promises offered to the believer in the holy scriptures, have rendered even the greatest afflictions tolerable; and enabled the unhappy African, amidst all his distresses, to enjoy the liberty of the sons of God; and, with a prospect of future happiness animating his hopes, he now possesses, through faith, a foretaste of those joys which shall be hereafter revealed. Through these promises he is enabled to consider his temporal afflictions to be but momentary and transient, and not worthy of being compared with that eternal weight of glory which God has reserved in store for all that love and fear him. Thro' the word of God he is enabled to expand his views beyond the confines of his present abode; to look with tranquillity upon the tomb; and to consider death only as a friendly messenger, that shall convey his happy spirit from time into eternity; and let him, more immediately, into the society of angels and of God.

It is in those islands that faith may be more immediately perceived as "the evidence of things not seen, and as the substance of things hoped for," than in these parts of the globe, where the temporal blessings of Providence are enjoyed in all their fulness; and in which a reception of the gospel seems to meet with no impediment.

But of these things we feel ourselves rather incompetent to decide. Impediments sometimes arise from those causes which seem to promise security; and we not unfrequently meet an obstacle, where we expected to find support. The smiles of mankind are often unfavourable to the progress of genuine Christianity; and its sincerest friends are sometimes fascinated by the sorceries with which they allure. The riches of the world sometimes prove a snare, and open a door for the indulgence of every guilty passion; while they retard the growth of every grace of the Holy Spirit, and lull the soul fast asleep in the arms of carnal security.

Among the negroes in the West Indies apprehensions are not likely to arise from this quarter, because these dangers are almost unknown. But afflictions are interwoven with human life; and no condition is exempt from hazard. These islanders are assailed with temptations seemingly more hostile, and opposed with obstacles apparently more formidable. The providence of God puts on the most terrible aspect; and inducements to arraign the proceedings of infinite Justice, appear in their most prominent forms. The mysterious distributions of his *providence*, his *goodness*, and his *mercies*, appear questionable in the last degree; the miseries of life are conspicuous in a particular form; and few things can seem more problematical than that God, who is infinitely *holy* and inflexibly *just*, should superintend the world.

Yet in the midst of these obscurities and mysterious proceedings of God, so far has divine grace reconciled them to dispensations which they cannot comprehend, that with humble faith thousands of the poor negroes are enabled to trust God where they cannot trace him, and to walk by faith and not by sight, because they have an eye to the recompence of reward.

To submit to dispensations the most painful and afflictive, without murmuring against that hand which administers, or arraigning that justice which distributes, is perhaps the greatest evidence of divine grace that we can expect from God, on this side an eternal state. Yet such is the condition of the negroes in these islands, and such is the testimony to divine grace which thousands of them afford. They praise God in the furnace of affliction; and shew by their lives and conversation that they have been with Jesus Christ. And those various documents which will be introduced in the course of this work, together with those personal instances which will become visible, as well as those facts to which we shall appeal, will afford perhaps one of the most astonishing scenes, that the annals of Christianity have recorded in modern days.

To acknowledge the hand of God in those dispensations which are consonant to our wishes, and which find a mirror in every feeling heart, is a task attended with no great difficulty. But in those cases where a long train of calamitous circumstances, where adversity in her most deformed condition, and where the most hostile appearance that Omnipotence has almost ever assumed here below, conspire to increase the general frown, and to heighten the melancholy gloom—human nature, unequal to the task, must sink beneath the pressure, and acknowledge the imbecility of all her efforts. It is in situations so peculiar, that the efficacy of divine grace more especially displays its beams, and shines forth with the most irradiating lustre. It is here, that it puts forth its most salutary influence, "and increases strength in them that have no might."

A combination of circumstances, apparently of the most hostile nature according to human calculation, has been rendered subservient to this mighty work which God has wrought. The moral and civil condition of the subjects, as well as the place chosen for the scene of action, wears an unpromising aspect, and seems to mock our hopes. But all these things are of no avail, when compared with the "working of that mighty power (of God) whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself." In fine, every circumstance proves that "his ways are not as our ways," and "that his thoughts are not as our thoughts; he worketh, and who shall let? none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doest thou? His way is in the whirlwind, and his paths are a great deep;" he is

infinite in his perfections, and from the decision of his judgments there is no appeal. The obstacles which would frequently deter men from engaging in an enterprise, are sometimes chosen by God as instruments of his work, and made conducive to those designs, which in themselves they are calculated to overthrow.

Placed beyond the influences of those motives which guide or bias human conduct, his modes of action surpass our penetration, and baffle our acutest researches. He reigns in inaccessible glory, and either creates new springs of action to subserve his purposes, or so touches those which are already in existence, as to excite our astonishment, while he changes the whole face of things. Intimately acquainted with the most latent propensities of intelligent beings, he can invert the order of established nature, and perform with ease those things which are impossible to man. He can cause the "Ethiopian to change his skin, and the leopard his spots," and make those who are accustomed to do evil, to cease from all iniquity and to do well. His power and his wisdom are such, as to set our calculations at defiance; and to prove in every thing that we cannot fully comprehend his ways. He not only surpasses the understanding of man, but that of all finite intelligences, and demonstrates in all his ways that he is God over all, blessed for ever. In every country he affords us evidences of these truths; but in no places so conspicuously as in those *Islands* which we are about to review. The *instruments* which are made use of; the *places* which have been selected for the scenes of action; the *subjects* on whom these important changes have been wrought; the *moral* and *civil condition* in which they were; will all unite to prove not only the infinity of his power, but the virtue of redeeming blood, and the efficacy of divine grace. In any of these cases, we behold such proofs as are sufficient to produce conviction; but when these evidences unite their forces, they press upon the mind with an effect which is irresistible. To repel that energy with which we are assailed, we must labour against our own persuasions; and with no other object in view, we must baffle the strength of evidence, to become the dupes of our own incredulity.

When we consider the subjects on whom God has displayed the wonderful efficacy of his grace, the most unfavourable circumstances appear. Every event wears a forbidding aspect, without affording the most distant probability of success. Accustomed to nothing but savage manners among those of their own colour, and living under the absolute dominion of every brutal passion, the negroes could have had no previous conceptions of those restraints which the gospel was about to impose. And consequently, as the design of Christianity was to oppose the lawless sallies of their unruly appetites, it must have acted in

direct opposition to their accustomed feelings and judgments; and have had to encounter all the violent prejudices of uncultivated life.

When modes of conduct have been once adopted, and pursued till they become habitual, they are the most difficult of all prejudices to be removed. They acquire strength from constant exercise, and, sanctioned by common consent, they become venerable in proportion to their antiquity; and, while they afford momentary indulgence, they are not parted with without regret. Lost in an abyss of iniquity, the feelings by which these negroes were governed, were little more than mere animal sensations. The violence of their passions, and their habitual indulgence of them, must have nearly smothered the internal dictates of their consciences, and reduced every emotion of the soul to one common level, and melted all into one general mass. Unable to discriminate between perceptions which through their habits of iniquity were apparently allied, though in themselves distant and remote, they were incapable of analyzing their thoughts. Their ideas were few, and bounded by narrow confines; the gratifying of their inclinations seemed to encircle all. Thus circumscribed in their views, and acting under the impulses of those affections which were the only incentives to action; ignorance, the inseparable concomitant of savage life, seemed to shut up every avenue of the soul, and fixed a barrier, which prohibited all access. Their reasoning faculties having never been called into action, were in a torpid state. Of the truths of the gospel they had never heard; and on its excellencies or defects, they were incompetent to decide. Their passions were enthroned; and, reigning with absolute dominion, would submit to no controul. Thus shielded by ignorance, and impelled by their desires, influenced by that carnal mind which is enmity against the things of God, and acting with views that were bounded by contiguous objects, with distracted notions of a *First Cause*, too confused to admit of any regard, or to procure reverence; and with prospects of an hereafter too much obscured to incite to action, or to keep alive any adequate conceptions of rewards and punishments beyond the grave, Christianity had before it no prospect that could promise any success; or justify any attempt to introduce it into these benighted regions of the globe.

Such were the subjects on which God has displayed the saving powers of his grace, and manifested the rich discoveries of redeeming love!

But when from the subjects themselves we turn our views to the peculiarities of their condition, it will still appear more evidently, that the work which God has wrought is entirely through grace by faith. In their *moral condition* we behold them enslav-

ed to every vice, and working all manner of uncleanness with greediness; and in their *civil state* degraded to the most abject condition into which human nature could possibly enter.

The gospel which was about to be introduced among them, had to assert as one of its fundamental principles, the *wisdom* and *justice* and *power* of God. But these circumstances opened new sources of difficulties. The wisdom of God was not conspicuous in his dealings towards them in a *civil view*; and his *justice* and *power* could not without difficulties, which to them were insurmountable, be reconciled together. To assert that God was "loving to every man, and that his tender mercies were over all his works," were points that were apparently contradicted by fact; and entitled to no credit, because they exceeded all belief. To conceal these truths, the ministers of Jesus Christ would have acted an unfaithful part, in not declaring the whole counsel of him by whom they were sent; and to divulge them seemed likely to defeat the design of their mission.

The negroes could have had no favourable notions of that justice which was avowedly infinite, and supported by power which was placed beyond all controul, while they beheld their own condition, and contemplated that state of degradation into which they were involved without any apparent cause. Their complicated distresses must have rather awakened jealousy than excited gratitude; and they must, according to all human modes of reasoning, have considered the introduction of the gospel as an attempt to impose shackles upon their minds; to stifle the pangs of agonizing nature, and reconcile them to their fate.

They could have had no predilection for a system which they could not understand; which promised happiness in another life; but which professedly came from that God, who, though infinite both in justice and power, had so mysteriously withheld it from them in the present life. The rewards and punishments which lay beyond the grave, could have but little influence, while even the existence of an hereafter was so problematical; the proofs of which, even admitting the fact, they could not comprehend. Of miseries in a future state they could have little to fear, while estimating their present circumstances; and of felicities they could have but little to hope, when considering that they depended entirely upon the mercies of that God who had permitted their present condition. A train of circumstances moving in the same direction, and originating in the same cause, must produce the same effects, and must have filled them with disgust, without awaking their hopes or fears.

Such are the views which we may naturally conceive they must have had of the gospel of Jesus Christ, while acting under the influence of those impressions, which a view of their civil

condition must have inspired. But how hostile soever these obstacles might appear in the sight of man, they were no obstacles to God. Their souls enslaved to every vice, and their bodies enslaved by man, their prejudices arising from inveterate habits, sanctioned by custom and guarded by native ignorance, were trifles of no account in the sight of God. That divine power which had raised the dead, and cleansed the lepers, was able to quicken their mortal bodies, and to raise their souls from a death of sin to a life of righteousness; and to bring them into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, when they came unto him by faith.

The power of God which we thus view in theory, has been realized in fact. His grace has actually accomplished what his promises had taught his followers to expect. In opposition to every intervening obstacle, he has instituted means, through which his blessed gospel has reached the distant shores of their habitation, has triumphed over every impediment; and, what is of infinitely greater importance, has changed the hearts of thousands, who willingly followed "the drawings of the Father," and yielded to the operations of converting grace.

To work through the instrumentality of means, or without the medium of such subordinate agents, is exactly alike to God. The end for which he acts is his; and the way and manner through which that end is to be accomplished, are his also. In peculiar cases known only to himself, he conducts himself without the concurrence of any visible agent; but his ordinary mode of dealing with the sons of men, is through the medium of some instruments, which he selects. In his economy towards mankind we are not overpowered with an irresistible blaze of Omnipotence; but he condescends to reason with us, and to adapt his conduct to the understanding which he has bestowed. To act upon us with an irresistible impulse, would without doubt display his power; but in proportion as his power became conspicuous, his justice would be eclipsed, and his wisdom would be concealed. He must, in these cases, counteract the primary constitution of our natures, and destroy the probationary state of man; and, under these circumstances, obedience would cease to be an excellency, and impenitency to be a crime.

But in the conversion of these insulated heathens, God has made use of his ordinary methods. Had he acted in a different manner, many questions of considerable difficulty might have been raised, even though all were to admit "that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. But how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" From this train of interrogatives

we may safely conclude that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." (Rom x. 13—17.)

The instruments which God has selected for this purpose, were adapted by himself for the important work in which he called them to engage. Neither deeply read in the abstruse sciences, nor critically versed in the liberal arts, without being adepts in philosophical disquisition, or pretending to those embellishments which gain access in polished life; they were men raised up by God himself, and instructed from on high, to dispense those blessings which had been previously communicated to their own souls.

Acquainted with the scriptures, and fully satisfied that their call was from above; and experiencing those truths which they were about to deliver, they possessed all those internal qualifications which were necessary for the accomplishment of their arduous task. The fact is proved beyond the possibility of contradiction; because God has owned their labours, and blessed their endeavours, and added through their instrumentality to his church, thousands that we have every reason to believe will be eternally saved. Neither their "speech nor their preaching was with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and with power, that the faith of those who heard should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." Knowing in whom they had believed, and feeling the powers of the world to come, they were enabled to speak with a becoming boldness, and to testify that Christ the Saviour of the world has power on earth to forgive sins.

Not dealing "in the false commerce of a truth unfelt," they spoke what they knew, and testified what they had seen; and thousands of those who attended their ministry received their testimony; and are now living witnesses to the verity of these accounts. Burning with holy fervour, and not counting their lives dear unto themselves, these servants of the most high God have gone forth in the midst of dangers to encounter difficulties, and to be exposed to perils in a variety of forms. Relying on the protection of that God, who upholds and directs all things by the word of his power, the pestilence which of late years has ravaged these occasionally insalubrious climates, has not been able to quench their sacred zeal. Though individuals have fallen victims to that fatal disease, the hearts of others have been moved to quit their Christian brethren; to take leave of their native country, and that perhaps for ever; to cross the vast Atlantic ocean; to enter into a burning zone, without any other prospect before them than that of hoping to be rendered useful to the negroes in the salvation of their souls; and without any

other expectation of reward than that which they hope to receive "in the resurrection of the just."

To what cause can we attribute such distinguishing effects? On rational principles we cannot account for them; and yet they cannot be denied. As facts, the evidence is unquestionable; but if we look no further than man, the cause lies quite concealed. According to our modes of calculation, such conduct is totally unaccountable; but all is clear, decisive, and explicit, when we apply to the word of God.

In this view they were "made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. In the sight of men, they were fools for Christ's sake; but the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men." It pleased him, who giveth to no one any account of his ways, to make use of these messengers of Heaven, as instruments in his hands, that he, "through the foolishness of preaching, might save them that believe," and bestow spiritual liberty on those who were in bondage and in chains. Without entering into any minute explanation of doctrines; or amusing their illiterate hearers with the ceremonies and trappings of religion, these servants of the living God confined their sermons to those topics which were calculated rather to affect the heart, than impart theories to the head. They represented God as a being infinite in his mercies, but inexorable in his justice; ready to save, but able to punish those who had sinned against him. They described him as inaccessible to mortals who had violated his commands, and only approachable through the efficacy of a mediatorial sacrifice. Without that sacrifice they held forth God as a consuming fire, as one who could not look on sin with the least allowance, much less with any degree of approbation, but who would shortly enter into judgment with all offenders, and finally punish the incorrigible with endless woe.

They described man as a reasonable creature; originally coming from God in a state of rectitude, but now fallen and degraded; unfit for happiness, and unworthy of it; and exposed to miseries beyond the reach of calculation. They pointed out the present life as but a small portion of man's existence; they considered him as an inhabitant of a state of being which lies beyond the grave, in which the righteous and the wicked shall meet their just reward; they taught that the actions of mankind here below, have an intimate connexion with the rewards and punishments of an hereafter; and that every one shall be rewarded according to his works. Defiled and polluted without a title to heaven, or a qualification for the enjoyment of it, they represented man as being naturally depraved, and on that account exposed to punishment; and as having added his actual trans-

gressions to that original depravity; and by that means riveted his doom, and rendered his condemnation sure. Debilitated through sin, which held dominion over him, they held him forth as utterly unable to return to God without supernatural aid; to recover himself from that condition in which he was involved; or to escape that misery to which he lay exposed. In fine, they described him as dead in trespasses, and dead in sins, destitute of all power to retrieve himself; and without an inclination to "flee from the wrath to come."

From these views in which they represented both God and man, they inferred the necessity of a Saviour; through whom man might have access to God, and be reconciled unto him, notwithstanding his past offences. From the relation in which man stood to God, they inferred the necessity of an expiation; of a vicarious sacrifice which should be equal to the claims of justice; and from hence they led them to "behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world."

By pointing out the Saviour in all his glorious offices, the affections of the poor negroes through accompanying grace became enkindled, their native ferocity was softened through the efficacy of dying love; and from a full conviction of the excellencies of this Saviour, and of the absolute necessity of obtaining an interest in him, they were led to call upon God for mercy; and to venture by faith on that sacrifice which the adorable Jesus had made: By thus venturing on him, they soon knew in whom they had believed; and by feeling in their own souls the witness of his Holy Spirit, they were enabled to set to their seal that God is true.

Being thus justified by faith, they had peace with God through our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and were led into the peaceable fruits of righteousness to the honour and glory of God. By this they demonstrated that their faith was genuine; by this they proved the sincerity of their attachment to him in whom they believed; and gave evidence by their words and actions, that their faith was wrought of God. In this happy state thousands are now to be found in our West India Islands, who feel the powers of the world to come, and in the midst of temporary distresses can rejoice in hope of the glory of God. In servitude of the basest kind they are enabled to triumph in a freedom from condemnation; they can boast of liberty, while they feel the galling chain; and look with pity and compassion on their unhappy brethren who know not God. The losses which they have sustained on their native coast, they can reflect on with but comparatively small regret; since they have found a more than ample compensation for all in God. And though called to move under a gloomy dispensation of divine providence,

which they cannot comprehend, yet they have learned to trust God where they cannot trace him, and to walk by faith and not by sight.

Such are the blessed effects which have resulted from preaching the everlasting gospel in the "isles of the sea!"

When we survey the barbarous state of those to whom Christ has been thus preached; the deep-rooted prejudices, which they must, from a variety of circumstances, have had against Christianity; when we consider their hereditary ignorance; the contractedness of their views; and the influence of those corruptions which predominated in their hearts; and when to these we add the sources of temptation, which local circumstances must have presented before them, to question the justice of that God in whose mercies they were called by the gospel to confide; when we unite all these incidents together, we can hardly avoid exclaiming, "It is the Lord's doing, but it is marvellous in our eyes." And when to the above we also subjoin the instruments which God selected for these important purposes; the holy zeal which they have manifested on these occasions; the difficulties which they have encountered and finally overcome; together with that extraordinary success which has attended their ministry, and accompanied those simple truths which they have delivered, who can withhold the tribute of exultation, and avoid saying, "What has God wrought!"

But while the gospel of Jesus Christ shines forth with such irradiating lustre in these sultry regions, it must be acknowledged that the providence of God stands eclipsed, and appears enveloped with clouds which we can hardly penetrate. A thousand questions may probably be asked in different forms, why God, who is infinitely just in all his ways, permits those shadows to enclose his actions and conceal his moral government from the scrutiny of mortals, in permitting the sons of Africa to move in chains. To this we can only answer, that his ways are high as the heavens, and we cannot comprehend them, neither can any man by searching find out God.

We see but a small part of his ways, and have not faculties sufficiently expanded to trace through all their intricacies the different parts of the economy of God. The utmost exertion of human efforts can discover no more than a single point, without being able to follow those connective links which unite together the remotest extremes: but, when the present system of things shall dissolve, and we shall commence inhabitants of another; when the mysteries which now surround the divine dispensations shall be unravelled, and we shall see him eye to eye, and face to face, and shall know as we are known; then, those obscurities which are now so prominent in his moral conduct, will disap-

pear; and we shall behold justice, and goodness, and mercy, conspicuous in all his ways.

But the obscurities which now involve the conduct of God, originated not in him but in man. The introduction of moral evil into the world, has inverted the order of things, and occasioned that scene of confusion which we constantly behold. It has been the cause of those calamities under which human nature groans; and produced those natural evils, which our baseness would sometimes tempt us to charge on the providence and conduct of the Most High.

In the primary formation of human nature the Creator of the universe interwove with the constitution of man a dominion over his own actions; directed him in what was right, and constituted him free. From this freedom arose the power of transgression; and from transgression those various afflictions which embitter life; and create the miseries of man, both in time and in eternity. The purposes of God toward us, have uniformly been founded in love; they began in goodness in the original state of things, and to the faithful have terminated in mercy, and more peculiarly under the gospel dispensation. Conducting himself with a view to promote that holiness from which we had departed, and aiming at a renovation of our natures without acting upon us by irresistible impulse, the conduct of God towards his creatures must of course be strangely diversified in this transitory scene of action, and this fallen state of mankind, who are utterly depraved by nature, and irrecoverably fallen without the grace of God. And therefore these diversities and obscurities which exist among the human race, arise not from any deviation in the conduct of God, but from the devious conduct of man.

With these views of God and of his ways, we feel no difficulty in accounting for the dispensations of his providence which we are not able to comprehend; or in assigning to them an adequate cause, even in those cases which elude our pursuits. We see in many instances the effects without their apparent causes; and they appear irregular and questionable, in proportion as circumstances, either simple or combined, contract our views. Those actions which sometimes appear obscure, and so ambiguous as to leave it dubious whether or not they came from God, are frequently elucidated by subsequent events. The event is commonly an expositor on the previous action; it discovers its connexion with it, through the intermediate stages through which it passes; and leaves, in many instances, the conduct of God and the mysteries of providence without a shade.

But while he thus permits obscure dispensations of his providence to overtake us, and frequently encircles us with circum-

stances which we cannot comprehend; he so overrules those actions which originate in wickedness, as to make them contribute toward some general or particular good for his faithful people. But that particular influence which God thus exerts, in making evil subservient to good, cannot affect the nature of that action which is thus influenced, good or evil in itself. The action must be right or wrong, independently of those effects which through the interference of Omnipotence are made to result from it. Designs and actions which in themselves are wicked, are only permitted; and the interference of God, instead of calling them into being, only averts their natural effects for the good of those that love him. By these means he brings good out of evil, and causes even the wrath of man to praise him.

Among those strange and mysterious events which take place through the permission of God, the case of the Africans, who have been torn from their native land, transported across the vast Atlantic, and are now held in bondage by the nations of Europe, claims our particular regard: It affords to the contemplative mind, one of the most questionable forms in which the providence of God can, perhaps possibly, appear. And yet it is not an improbable case, that even this most abominable traffic, (for the abolition of which every Christian will bless the God of love,) and this condition in which human nature appears, in one of its most degraded and unhappy forms, may be made subservient to those wise designs, which we shall not be able fully to unravel on this side an eternal world. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the extent of sin, nor with the vast designs of God, to pronounce these things absurd, or even improbable. Thus even the slavery of the human species, (though so directly contrary to the spirit of Christianity,) we plainly perceive, is now overruled by the unerring wisdom of God; and, strange as it may appear, myriads without all doubt will rejoice eternally that ever they were taken into the western world.

It may here be asked, "Why did not God convey the same gospel to Africa, which he has conveyed to the West Indies? Why did he not bring them into the liberty of his children without shackling them first with chains?"

We have already observed that the judgments of God are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. The conduct which he pursues, leads invariably to the same important issue, though we cannot trace the path through which that conduct moves. His ways are just, though incomprehensible; and his designs of mercy, when apparently arbitrary, are invariably consonant with what is right. As we are not minutely acquainted with those motives from whence the Almighty acts, we are totally incompetent either to arraign his conduct, or to decide upon the pro-

priety or impropriety of any of his ways. The mind of man is too contracted to comprehend his modes of action, or fully to see the justice and truth which are inseparable from his ways. The secret ties which connect together the different ages of the world, and different dispensations of his providence, are too minute for our discernment, and too refined for our comprehension; and the process of their movements is too secret for our penetration. We see the event accomplished, without knowing upon what secret springs any of its parts depend, any more than we can conceive how that love can be infinite, which is lodged within the confines of justice, and which in many instances seems so partial in its application.

But how desolate and abandoned soever Africa may now appear, there was a period, in which the gospel shone through some considerable portion of that quarter of the globe. In conjunction with other parts, the natives of that extensive tract had the light of revelation diffused among them, in an early stage of Christianity, within less than thirty years* after the death of Christ, which was some time before Jerusalem, that devoted city, met its doom. But why this gospel was withdrawn; how long it flourished among them; in what period it began to decay; or to what more favourable countries it retired, is not our present business to inquire. God who uniformly aims at the welfare of the faithful, and who

* That the gospel in its extensive spread, was carried into Africa in the early ages of Christianity, will hardly admit of any controversy. There are many indubitable evidences which sufficiently prove its establishment, and place its being known in every quarter of the then discovered world, beyond all possble doubt.

Dr. Doddridge in his Family Expositor, vol. ii. p. 390. after paraphrasing Matt. xxiv. 14. observes in a note on these words ("The gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations") as follows: "The accomplishment of this extraordinary prophecy is admirably illustrated by Dr. Arthur Young, vol. ii. p. 216—284. It appears from the most credible records that the gospel was preached in Idumea, Syria, and Mesopotamia by Jude: in Egypt, Marmorica, Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, by Mark, Simon, and Jude: in Ethiopia by Candace's Eunuch and Matthias: in Pontus, Galatia, and the neighbouring parts of Asia, by Peter: in the territories of the seven Asiatic churches, by John: in Parthia by Matthew: in Scythia by Philip and Andrew: in the northern and western parts of Asia, by Bartholomew: in Persia by Simon and Jude: in Media, Carmania, and several eastern parts, by Thomas: and through that vast tract of territory from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, by Paul; as also in Italy, and probably in Spain, Gaul, and Britain. In most of these places success attended the preaching of the gospel, and Christian churches were planted in less than thirty years after this prophecy was delivered, which was some time before the destruction of Jerusalem took place." It is thus in one view that we behold a train of events corresponding with the prediction, and the truths of the gospel disseminated over so large a portion of the globe. And we are fully assured from these and a variety of other circumstances, that Africa, notwithstanding the present condition of her degenerate sons, has had its gospel day, and has heard the invitations of a Saviour's love.

makes his dealings with us subservient to this important end, withdraws no mercy from mankind without a sufficient cause; and that cause originates in man. We may therefore rest satisfied that the removal of the gospel from Africa, as well as its removal from other parts of the world in which it once flourished, but from which it is now withdrawn, has been occasioned by the hypocrisy of professors; the contempt with which it has been treated; the attachment of the inhabitants to paganism and idolatry; their making religion a cloak for licentiousness; and harbouring those secret vices, which Christianity must extirpate when it takes possession of the heart—these or similar causes may be assigned as reasons for the removal of the gospel from them.

We have said in a preceding page, when contemplating the gloomy dispensations of divine providence, which encircle the negroes who are held in bondage in the West Indies, that they are obliged to trust God where they cannot trace him; and that they are called to walk by faith and not by sight. The same observations which we have applied to them, may with equal justice be appropriated to ourselves. In the volume of nature and the book of providence, we discover facts which we cannot deny; they pass upon us in both cases, with evidences which convince us of their certainty; while their causes and consequences are alike wrapped up in shade. Facts in both instances give us indubitable evidences of a superior cause possessing energies which we cannot grasp; but beyond the confines of their simple existence, our acutest penetrations cannot pierce.

The civil condition of the negroes opens a field of contemplation to the inquiring mind, which our deepest researches cannot fully explore. We trace effects to their more immediate causes, but still find ourselves surrounded with difficulties; we ascend step by step on the mountain of mysteries, till the sight grown dim by the height of our situation, can no longer move in these elevated regions: it then seems to close in darkness; and the jaded spirits, tired with the excursion, seek repose in the equity and justice of God.

But the wisdom and equity of God, in which the pious mind seeks and finds its rest, enveloped with shadows and involved in mysteries, still lie buried in a vast abyss. The mind therefore repairs to the unerring standard of divine truth; and learns from the sacred volume, that the Judge of the whole earth must do right; that we must wait with patience till this mortal shall put on immortality, when a scene shall open in which he shall justify his ways to man.

The tornadoes which destroy the promised vintage of the year, are not greater anomalies in the natural, than the condition of the poor negroes is in the moral world. In both cases we are

assured that justice must mark the footsteps of God, in what he does, and in what he suffers, though we are unable to trace it in either case. These things ensure to us an after scene, in which the mysteries of the present shall be completely unravelled; rewards and punishments administered according to our deeds; and in which the obscurities which now shade the conduct of God, shall be unfolded, and rendered conspicuous to every order of intelligent beings. It is with these prospects before him, and the internal assurances of them, that the Christian becomes reconciled to the varied dispensations of God. It is thus he feels resignation to his blessed will, confidently persuaded that he permits no injustice to take place, which he does not particularly notice, and will not amply counterbalance by rewards and punishments, either in time or in eternity. And since the justice of God is not always unfolded in the present state, our reasoning powers instruct us to look for another, in which partiality and questionable appearances shall be totally done away.

How far these outlines of the Author's views may meet the concurrence of all his readers, he feels himself incompetent to decide. Satisfied in himself that no other considerations can afford that stability to an inquiring mind which the subject requires, and which the human mind imperiously demands; he feels a confidence within himself, that the pious and reasonable will readily yield their suffrage to a train of positions, which lead immediately to tranquillity and repose in God. And while the faith of individuals is confirmed, and their hopes animated with brighter prospects, the heart must be enlarged, and filled with fervent zeal for the honour and glory of that God, who has thus opened a door for the spread of his gospel in those unpromising portions of the globe. And while with holy transport, the soul exults in the prospect which lies before it, the hand will be expanded with an involuntary liberality to support the best of causes, that of spreading among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ.

History of the West Indies.

CHAP. I.

General observations—division—geographical situation—boundaries and discovery—general appearance of the country—fertility and vegetable productions—variations of the seasons—sea and land breezes—advantages of these breezes—effects of the climate, and letter of Columbus.

HAVING given in the preceding pages an ample account of the object of this Work, and of the motives which have urged us to engage in this undertaking, together with the plan which we intended to pursue, we now proceed, as premised, to give a general description of that Archipelago which is at present commonly known by the name of the West Indies.

The islands which have obtained the name of West Indies, are considerable in number, of different sizes, from doubtful continents to solitary rocks; which are situated in an extensive excavation, apparently scooped out by the hand of Providence, near to the most southern part of the northern continent of America. In themselves they serve to check the violence of the Atlantic surges, and offer by these means a distant relief to the continental shores; while in their turn they are amply repaid for that protection which they administer, by the reciprocal shelter which they receive from the distant and contiguous coasts, with which they are more than half encircled. It is on these accounts, in all probability, that they were formerly called Antilles, or Anti-Isles; but whether these terms apply in general to all the islands which we denominate the West Indies, or are exclusively confined to the larger islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, is a matter on which historians seem to be divided.

These islands have however nearly lost these antiquated names, and are better known by more modern appellations. From the old Spanish navigators they received other names, which arising from natural causes, seem to be of a more permanent, though equally local nature. These navigators divided all

the islands into two distinct classes, designated by the terms Barlo-vento and Sota-vento, which ideas, under English appellations, we still retain. It is from these terms that we derive our notions of Windward and Leeward Islands; for such, when translated into English, is the express meaning of the above words. These islands are distinguished and arranged in the following manner.

The Charaibean Islands, which are so denominated from their original inhabitants, as will hereafter be noticed, constitute from their situation the former class; while the four larger islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Porto-Rico, constitute the latter. The winds blowing from the eastern quarter without much variation through nearly nine months in the year, have given occasion to these distinctions; and the islands are denominated Windward according to their easterly, and Leeward according to their westerly situation. Thus Barbadoes is the most windward of all the islands, because it holds the most easterly situation; while the Havannah is the most leeward, because it holds among these islands the most westerly position on the globe. And the intermediate islands, which engross the various longitudes between these extremities which have been mentioned, are named according to that rank which they sustain.

In this general division of the islands into these two distinct classes, only four of them are denominated Leeward, while the appellation Windward engrosses all the rest. But no real reason in nature seems assignable for this particular division. They might have been apportioned differently, without injuring the general name, or affecting the common application. The division is however already made; and since it conveys to us distinct and perspicuous ideas, it leaves no room for the novelties of innovation or the murmurs of discontent.

But this general division, insufficient for all the local purposes of commerce and navigation, has been succeeded by another subordinate distinction, most generally known in the vocabulary of the seas. The Windward Islands, of which we have already spoken, have in themselves undergone another change. For as these Charaibean Islands, divided from the others, constituted a separate class, which was called Windward, so in themselves they are divided into two classes, and are denominated the Windward or Leeward Islands of the Charaibeans, without having any respect to those large islands of which we have already spoken.

But this subordinate division seems to be of an arbitrary and uncertain nature. They are subdivided, it is true, according to their relative situations and primary exposure to the trade winds; but that line of demarkation which separates the Wind-

ward from the Leeward Islands in this Charaibean division, is of a nature too adventitious to engage our further pursuit. The line by which they are in general divided by mariners who have been accustomed to navigate those seas, seems to be drawn between Martinico and Dominica, leaving the former in the Windward and including the latter in the Leeward class. It may however be proper to observe, that whether this subdivision originated in caprice or novelty, in necessity or conveniency, as it has been established by nautical practice and observation, it is now acknowledged and followed by our modern geographers, and engraven on the plates of our best and correctest maps. These circumstances will serve to confirm this sub-arrangement of the Charaibean Islands, whatever cause might have first called it into existence.

It is thus divisions take place! We localize and distinguish parts for our own accommodation; and descend from immense magnitudes to minute spots, as necessity or conveniency requires. In the western world we behold an immense continent, stretching from above the Arctic Circle, down to 55 degrees of southern latitude. This vast continent is divided into two parts at the Isthmus of Darien; in the bosom of which lies that chain of islands which are denominated the West Indies. These islands are again divided into two classes, denominated the Windward and the Leeward; the Windward are again subdivided into other classes which retain the same names, and are distinguishable by the station which they sustain. From classes we descend to islands; from islands to counties; from counties through all the gradations of subdivision, till we enter local plantations, and lose ourselves in the minuteness of our researches.

To a spectator, who extends his view from North to South America, these islands appear like so many scattered fragments of a broken continent, now insulated by water; but originally torn by some violent concussion of nature from those portions of the globe, which are now inundated by the gulfs and seas which fill the excavation in which they stand. In this view they appear like monuments of some signal vengeance, which Heaven had inflicted on some dreadful occasion; and they seem preserved to convey the tremendous tidings, through the progress of time, to the latest generations of mankind. The fertility which they exhibit, will tend to add some mournful ingredients to these conjectural sentiments; and the mind is left to rove in a melancholy region; to contemplate departed glory; and to drop the tear of sorrow, over an immense tract of the most fertile territory that perhaps ever opened its bosom to the sun; now overwhelmed with surrounding seas, and sunk for ever to the bottom of the remorseless deep.

As natural productions they seem to have immerged from the bottom of the ocean; and to have elevated their mountainous heads, to a height which in many instances has been almost inaccessible to man. That marine productions have been found on the most elevated parts to which man has had access, is a point which will admit of no dispute; and serves as one collateral proof of an universal deluge.

But on the origin of islands we have no more reason to expect that our curiosity will be gratified, than we have, when we urge our inquiries about the origin of continents. They both claim one common Parent; we behold in each the footsteps of an Almighty Creator; and they declare in both cases, that, in ways and manners which are beyond the scrutiny of mortals, they owe their existence to the power and wisdom of God.

These islands are bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean with which they are laved. On the north their limits are fixed by the northern continent of America; on the west by New Spain and the Isthmus of Darien; and on the south by the northern shores of the southern continent of America. Thus providentially situated, in a region adapted to their uses; surrounded by seas and gulfs, which are amazingly extensive, and navigable for ships of the largest burdens; they present their bosoms to the Atlantic Ocean; and are so adapted for commerce, that they seem, while reposing in the lap of nature, to hold out a general invitation to Europe and the world.

Protected on the west by the mountainous Isthmus of Darien, which rises in majestic grandeur, and forms a rampart to that world of waters which lies behind it, these islands are shielded from otherwise inevitable destruction. Preserved from the encroachments of the Pacific Ocean by this barrier which the Isthmus of Darien forms, they are secured from that unavoidable ruin, into which they must in all probability have fallen, had that barrier been broken down through any sudden convulsion of nature. For in such a situation are these islands apparently placed, that should this isthmus which now divides both continents and oceans, be demolished by any unexpected commotion of the world, the agitation which would arise from the awful confluence of these immense oceans, would in all probability nearly blot them from the visible works of God.

The inundation which a junction of these seas would occasion, would, it is more than probable, either root them from their foundation, or so agitate and vex these contiguous waters, as to render these seas unnavigable; so that should these islands survive the catastrophe, they would be no longer beneficial to the world in general.

But that God who sitteth above the water-floods, hath laid

the foundation of the earth, and hath shut up the sea within doors. He hath established its boundaries beyond which it cannot pass: he hath chained it with his word, and said, "Hitherto shalt thou come but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

Through this power the Isthmus of Darien has baffled the rage of all the elements, and repelled the storms of all preceding ages. And what changes soever the earth may have undergone in these parts of the globe, through earthquakes, volcanoes, or other causes which have acted on her surface, or insidiously consumed her through subterranean fires, these ramparts have been preserved uninjured to the present time; and are striking monuments of the creating power and preserving care of God.

It is through the word of divine power that the different elements have preserved, and still preserve, their respective abodes; that an equilibrium is maintained between land and water; and that no encroachments since the universal deluge have been suffered in either case, which could unhinge the laws of nature, or, in a general view, either parch, or finally inundate the globe.

The calamities which have befallen it since that total inundation, have been either transient in their continuance, or partial in their application; like momentary eclipses which cast a shadow over the scene, that its beauties might afterwards appear in brighter perfection, and to greater advantage.

In the great volume of nature which we now contemplate, irregularities will appear before us; and they will appear like inflictions or casualties which proceed from the justice of God. But many of these irregularities are branches of a system, the whole of which we cannot fully comprehend; they are secret portions, which unite the more visible parts; and serve as connective links in the vast chain of being and of providence, which both begin and finally terminate in God.

The geographical position of this vast Archipelago which is bounded and protected as we have described, engrosses on the globe a considerable space. Extending from Trinidad southward to the northern Bahama, it includes from 10 to 27 degrees of northern latitude; and stretching from Barbadoes on the east, to the extremity of Cuba on the west, it fills from 60 to 85 degrees of longitude west of London.

The territorial dominion belongs to different European powers, of which considered in every point of view the British is the chief; the other settlements appertain to Spain, to France, to Holland, and to Denmark; but occasionally change their masters as the fate of war decides. In the course of those hostilities which from time to time have disturbed the tranquillity of Eu-

rope, and desolated so many fertile countries, these islands have been sometimes the theatre of devastation, and scenes of raping and plunder have been occasionally exhibited, as they happened to fall a prey to one or other of the opposing powers. The calamities of war in all the varied forms in which they afflict mankind, have been severely felt in these colonies, and seem to have counteracted that profusion of blessings, which the providence of God, in the productions of nature, has scattered with such a liberal hand.

The cruelties which the unhappy natives have undergone; the unheard-of tortures to which they have been exposed; the depredations which have been committed upon the inhabitants by Europeans, even when they had extirpated the natives, and then thirsted for each other's blood, would half induce us to believe that these islands were marked out for the vengeance of Heaven; and that the inhabitants had been doomed to suffer those evils which so awfully overtook them, as a punishment for some most heinous crimes.

But how strongly soever the contention for empire may have been on other occasions, yet in the course of those wars which too frequently happen between Great Britain and France, after desolating with fire and sword the territories which they respectively acquired by conquest in times of hostilities, they have almost uniformly restored them to the first proprietors by treaties of peace.

The first discovery of these islands was made by Christopher Columbus. This celebrated navigator was born in some obscure village, within the territory of the republic of Genoa, A. D. 1442. Tradition reports that he was honourably descended, but time and misfortunes concurred to reduce his parents to humiliating circumstances; so that, at an early period of his life, necessity prompted him to action, and, in the end, patient and laborious merit conducted him through the rugged and uneven paths of enterprize to fame and honour.

Brought up to the sea, he became an early adept in the theory and practice of navigation, and acquired a greater share of nautical information than any of his contemporaries, either in his own, or any other country. From a combination of circumstances which fell under his observation in the course of trading voyages from his own country towards the Atlantic ocean, he concluded that undiscovered regions lay to the westward, beyond that immense body of waters.* After submitting the evidences

* That Columbus was fully persuaded in his own mind of the existence of an immense tract of land lying in some undiscovered part of the globe, appears most evident to the attentive inquirer. It was this persuasion which gave energy to his pursuits, and prompted him to exertions apparently beyond the reach of man.

which, had confirmed him in his opinion, to the investigation of the most learned men of those times, and finding no material

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It was the opinion of the Abbé Raynall and others, that Columbus from an attentive survey of the world as it then stood delineated on maps, conceived that there was too great a disproportion between the land and water; and they say that this circumstance first suggested to him the idea of pursuing a westerly route, in quest of another continent which was then unknown.

There are others however who attribute this first idea of Columbus to a different motive; and imagine that the only object which he had in view in taking a westerly direction, was to find a much nearer passage to India;—a country which was then known to several states in Europe, and had occasionally been visited before that time.

The spherical figure of the earth was well known to Columbus, and to many geographers who lived before, and were contemporaries with him. These geographers divided the equator into 360 portions, and invented those modes of measuring the latitudes and longitudes of places which they have handed down to us, and which we retain in use to the present day. According to their geographical calculations, they imagined that the most easterly land with which they were acquainted, lay about 225 degrees east of their first meridian, which then passed through the Canary or Fortunate Islands.

Admitting this calculation to have been just, Columbus well knew that these longitudes which stretched into such distant regions eastwardly, must leave but a comparatively small portion of the globe on the western side. For since the whole circumference of the earth at the equator contained but 360 degrees (or 24 hours, allowing 15 degrees to an hour) and since 225 lay to the east of the first meridian, it followed as an inevitable consequence, that only 135 could remain unexplored in the western longitudes; and consequently, that could a passage be once found through the western ocean which he was about to explore, a much more expeditious mode of communication would be opened with India, than that which was then pursued by the Portuguese and others.

With these designs and under these impressions founded upon the established but grossly inaccurate geography of his age, Columbus undertook his perilous voyage; set sail, and found America much sooner than his calculations could have induced him to expect, had they been well founded. Indeed, neither he nor any of his contemporary geographers pretended to set boundaries to the land in the east; only they imagined that they could trace it into those eastern longitudes which have been mentioned, but how much further was quite unknown. If these were his views, it is not probable that he would have willingly relinquished his design till his arrival near the Sandwich Islands, at which part of the globe he would have fallen in with these eastern longitudes.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps hard to say, whether the discovery of America under Providence may be ascribed to accident or design. But be it attributed to what it may, the bold and adventurous spirit of Columbus is equally an object of admiration and astonishment. If we impute the discovery to accident, under these views we must admit that his daring calculations must have inclined him to explore unknown oceans, much beyond those which were actually traversed by him.

Steering thus into those western longitudes, Columbus, on his seeing land, was satisfied that he had found some part of Asia, to which he gave the common name of Indies. But as this had been discovered by a westerly course of navigation, while the other lay in the east, it obtained from him through this circumstance the name of West Indies, which name was soon established in Europe, and is retained to the present time.

But whether the motives of Columbus in exploring those almost shoreless oceans, were to discover the extremities of Asia, or to seek after that continent

objection in their arguments to discountenance his hypothesis, he quitted his native country, in search of powerful and opulent patrons who might enable him to prosecute his plan of demonstrating the real existence of such undiscovered territories. It is not known by what means he found sufficient interest to make application to most of the courts of Europe for encouragement, nor how he supported the expences of travelling; but it is well ascertained that he came to England, after having met with a very mortifying reception at the French court, and offered his plan to our Henry VII. whose love of money being his predominant passion, he would not adventure the requisite expenditures for so great an undertaking upon such an uncertain issue. The Portuguese rejected his proposals from timidity, not daring at that time to undertake distant voyages.* These repeated disappointments, however, did not deter him from making a final attempt at the court of Spain, where Isabella of Castile, by her marriage with Ferdinand the Catholic, the first king of Spain on whom that title was conferred, had brought him in dowry the ancient kingdom of Castile, and had thereby considerably increased not only the territorial domains but the revenue of Spain. Here after a suspense of some years, he at last beheld himself in a condition to carry his favourite project, as it was then called, into execution.

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which he actually found, no positive evidence can now decide. But whatever his motive or motives were, the event which followed his undertaking is certain; his bold and enterprising spirit, under the protection of Heaven, led him to the discovery of this western world, and procured for him that fame which he has so justly acquired. On these distinct but unimportant questions the reader is left to form his own judgment, and to draw his own conclusions; for since no decisive proof can be now obtained, a train of circumstantial probabilities must be his only guide.

Every thing, however trifling in itself, becomes interesting, when it is sprinkled with the hoar of antiquity, and connected with men who have rendered themselves conspicuous in the annals of mankind. We look with anxious sympathy on suffering greatness, and by entering into their feelings, enjoy or suffer all the sensibilities which their narratives can bestow. The smallest particulars which relate to Columbus, are important; every relic is valuable; and while we write his discoveries, we can hardly avoid giving a portrait of his life. The reader on such occasions readily forgives the digression, and is willing to suspend the general narrative to peruse the history of a man, whose name is linked to time, and who cannot be forgotten till time shall be destroyed.

* Stimulated with the successes of Columbus, the Portuguese however soon embarked in an important enterprise which amply recompensed their exertions. In the year 1494, which was only two years after Columbus sailed on his first voyage, Bartholemas Dias running down the coast of Africa discovered its southern extremity, the Cape of Good Hope; but returned without making any further progress. These discoveries however were soon followed up with great success by Vasques de Gama, who in the year 1497 succeeded in his attempt in doubling the Cape, and opening the present passage into the Indian Seas.

It is asserted that his royal patroness was obliged to part with many of her most valuable jewels to defray the expences of fitting out this adventurer's expedition. Be this as it may, it is evident that neither the king nor the Spanish nation had any share in the first enterprise; for a more considerable force must have been the result of the efforts of the Spanish government; whereas, the little fleet which the queen alone was enabled to furnish, might be to the extent of her ability. It consisted only of the St. Mary, on board of which Columbus was permitted to hoist an admiral's flag, a ship of no considerable burden, and of two smaller vessels, the Pinta, and the Nina, called carravalls from their being of light burden, and not much superior to covered boats or barges. It is true, they were victualled, and provided with proper arms and ammunition for a voyage, or residence on shore, of twelve months. With this small squadron Columbus set sail from the port of Palos on the 3d day of August 1492, and in the course of his voyage had many difficulties to surmount. The first and most important was the variation of the compass, which till then had not been observed; this was considered by an ignorant and unprincipled crew as an obstacle to the further pursuit of the voyage. The few gentlemen of Isabella's court, who by her orders attended on the admiral, and as companions were on board his own ship, were easily alarmed, and, wishing to return home, secretly excited the discontent of the sailors; so that a general mutiny was on the eve of breaking out, when land was providentially discovered by Columbus himself, who had constantly encouraged the mariners by the hopes he entertained of being at no great distance from the coasts he so confidently expected to find. An island about fifteen leagues in length, having the appearance of a plain without any hills, lay close aboard of the admiral's ship on the morning of the 12th of October. Columbus, transported with joy, was the first to leap on shore, and was soon followed by the crews of all the ships, when *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted. This offering of gratitude to God being over, the sailors, ashamed of their late conduct, threw themselves at the feet of their commander, and implored his forgiveness. Columbus then returned to his ship, arrayed himself in a rich dress, and accompanied by his retinue, with all the pomp and splendour which his situation would admit, proceeded to take possession of the island for the crown of Spain, and to give it the name of St. Salvador, as a grateful tribute of remembrance for the dangers he had escaped.

It was one of the Bahama Islands, having the appearance of a delightful country well stored with wood, and watered by a number of rivulets, but in no state of cultivation, which could

induce him to believe it was one of those rich and fertile countries, that was to reward him and his followers for this hazardous enterprise. Coasting along to the southward, however, he found a larger island abounding with all the necessaries of life, inhabited by a mild and friendly people, and exhibiting every appearance of opulence; whereas that of St. Salvador appeared to be extremely poor. From some specimens of gold shewn to him by the inhabitants of this second discovered island, as well as by those of the Bahama's, he conceived that it possessed mines of this precious metal; and with this idea, which he knew would be highly acceptable to his employers, he resolved to return to Spain for reinforcements, after leaving a number of his companions on a friendly footing with the natives, a few of whom he took with him to Spain. This island was afterwards called by the Spaniards Hispaniola, which name it still retains, though it is more commonly known by that of St. Domingo, and has lately through the successes of the blacks been also styled Hayti.

We have no account of his voyage home; we are only informed, that on his arrival at Seville, he proceeded to Barcelona, where the court then resided; which he entered in a triumphal manner, exhibiting to the astonished multitude as he passed along, samples of the gold, with the ornaments of dress, the arms and domestic utensils of the islands he had discovered.

His reception was such as might be expected from his sovereigns. The king, in particular, who clearly perceived that the foundation was now laid for the future aggrandizement of his kingdom, by the accession of new territories, and the influx of wealth, entered heartily into the views of Columbus, who proposed to establish a Spanish colony in the islands he had already discovered, and to lose no time in further researches, till he had firmly settled Hispaniola, in which he proposed to reside, and there to wait for favourable opportunities to complete his plan of making new discoveries; for he was fully convinced that there were several other islands at no very great distance.

A formidable fleet was got ready with the utmost expedition, amply equipped with every article adapted to the double purpose of exploring and conquering new countries. Columbus was now appointed governor of all the territories he had, or should take possession of, for the crown of Spain. A great number of adventurers, many of them persons of high rank, embarked with him; and this second voyage proved still more successful than the first, for in the course of it he discovered Cuba and Jamaica; and, in a third, the whole Archipelago; which, in process of time, became separate colonies, as we have already noticed, belonging to different European nations.

It is now no longer doubted, that this great man was likewise the first discoverer of the Continent of America, ascribed by some historians to Vespusius a merchant of Florence, who, having sailed on a trading voyage to the southern continent, and envying the renown which Columbus had acquired, boldly assumed the merit of the first discovery; and had the audacity to make the addition of Americus to his family name. But Vespusius was not the only enemy Columbus had to encounter; a party formed against him at court, prevailed upon the imbecile and ungrateful Ferdinand to send a military officer of rank to Hispaniola, as an inspector of his government; who found means not only to supersede him, but to load him with irons, and to send him to Europe as a state prisoner. Isabella his protectress was no more; but his innocence was so apparent, that he was again taken into favour, and, unmindful of his past sufferings, followed the impulse of his ruling passion, and ventured on a fourth voyage of discovery, most probably that of attempting once more a passage by the West to the East Indies. From this expedition he returned to Spain totally exhausted; and after languishing a considerable time, under a hectic fever, he terminated his glorious life at Valladolid, in the year 1506, in the 56th year of his age.

Situated under the tropic of Cancer, the climate, soil, and productions of the West-India islands may be included together in one general description; and without entering at present into any minute examination of any particular island, we may view the whole in one collective point, bearing in general character a near resemblance to one another. The cultivated parts of these islands exhibit a scene of fertility, to which no country in Europe can bear any kind of proportion; and of which no European, accustomed only to the temperate and frigid zones, can have any adequate idea. It is a region in which abundance and variety seem to contend for mastery; in which they seem to lay an equal claim to our attention, but leave the mind undecided in its preference and choice. But abundant and various as these productions are, the fertility which abounds in these countries, may perhaps be attributed more to the salubrity of the climate, in the process of vegetation, than to the internal excellencies of the soil, or the laborious exertions of man.

The same effects are produced in these islands by the periodical rains which regularly fall, as are produced in Egypt by the overflowings of the Nile. In both cases the earth seems threatened with an inundation, through those waters which overspread her surface for a moment, and which seem to indicate a second deluge to destroy the world. But they are only so many manifestations of the divine goodness, acting through the medium of

second causes, which, in these torrid regions, he has made use of to impregnate the secret recesses of vegetation, to call torpid life into action, and to fertilize the surface of the earth.

In Egypt the waters rise from the swellings of the river, but in these islands they descend in torrents from the skies. In both cases the hand of Omnipotence is conspicuous; only he displays his power in different ways. In both cases he apparently deluges the earth with water, while he only fertilizes her surface, causing her to teem with plenty, which the tropical sun soon ripens for the use of man. It is thus, in the kingdom of nature, that Jehovah acts! It is thus also that he acts in the kingdom of divine grace! He awakens the soul to apprehensions of danger, and then conducts it to the throne of grace. He waters it from on high with the dews of his heavenly grace, that it may bring forth fruit to his glory, through the efficacy of the Sun of Righteousness, who shines upon it with sacred lustre.

The face of these islands would have held out sufficient inducements to the first adventurers, to establish settlements in these prolific regions, though no other temptations had conspired. They were countries in which nature seemed to have poured out, in luxuriant profusion, every thing necessary for the conveniency and comfort of man, and in which she appeared to present an extensive garden, which had been planted and cultivated by the hand of God. The foliage of the trees exhibited little less than a perpetual summer, diffusing its spices through the aromatic gales; while the fruits with which multitudes of them were loaded, gave evident signs of the divine favour. The roots and herbs which were nourished by the intense action of the solar beams, in conjunction with those fruits which were mellowed into ripeness by the same cause, and hung pendent from the boughs, must have excited gratitude in every feeling heart, in proportion as they produced admiration. And the astonishment which nature, thus wearing a perpetual smile, must have infused into the contemplative mind, would, one might expect, have been transferred to the primary Fountain from whence it sprang. The seas which encircle and lave these islands, contribute their portion in displaying the bounties of God. They teem with fish of the most delicious flavour; and yield this grateful repast in a surprising abundance. Both earth and sea conspire to supply the wants of man, by communicating their productions with amazing variety; exciting gratitude while they heighten wonder, through evidences which strike upon every sense, and more than demonstrate the unbounded goodness and infinite power of God.

The diversity of hills and valleys, the elevated mountains,

the extended savannas, the number and variety of trees and shrubs, and the umbrageous shades and cool retreats, which diversify this picturesque scene, all contribute to heighten the grandeur of the prospect, and to add to that fertility which glows without a rival in any other climate of our terrestrial abode. The mind is lost in contemplating the numerous beauties which these islands afford; and sinks oppressed with difficulties in making selections among a numerous train which exceeds all the imagery of the mind, and bids defiance to her descriptive powers.

The lofty and enormous trees which rise in majestic grandeur, and exceed in magnitude any that Europe ever saw, are, in many cases, protected from those violent tempests which sometimes ravage these countries, and lay plantations waste, by the still loftier mountains, which rise to an astonishing height: while these trees afford to those plants and shrubs which flourish beneath their shade, that protection and shelter which they receive. By these means shrubs and plants are defended against those intense heats which would pierce their vital parts, and extract from them that moisture by which they live.—Through the same causes they are preserved from the fatal effects of those rains which fall in autumn with such irresistible violence, as would strike them from the lists of vegetative creation, and mingle them with that earth from whence they now derive support. Thus circumstanced, the tender plants, which flourish in these islands, enjoy the genial and invigorating heats, without being exposed to all the rigour of that intolerable fierceness which blazes in the summer solstice from a vertical sun. Through the same peculiar happiness of situation, these tender plants partake of those enlivening benefits, which issue from those rains and dews which fertilize the country through every varied season, without sustaining the disadvantages which otherwise they must have suffered from those torrents of water which descend, occasionally, from the skies, in terrible inundations. The lofty trees which give graces to the magnificence of the scene, thus contribute to the fertility of those islands which are embellished by their stateliness and foliage; and they must have proved with demonstrative evidence to the first settlers, by their luxuriant growth, which depended on the native vigour of the earth and the power of the soil, the certainty of success which waited to crown the hand of industrious cultivation.*

* There is a certain propensity in the human mind inclining it occasionally to draw a veil over the enormities of their fellow-creatures, which I feel myself rather at a loss to comprehend. It seems difficult to say whether this pro-

The Papaw and Palmeto; the Mahogany and the Cedar; the Ceiba and the Fig, or what is called, in the East, the Banyan

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pensity arises from respect for human nature, and which would induce us to doubt the authenticity of those facts which stain the page of history with human blood, or whether it arises from a national or an individual friendship for those persons whose actions sully the annals of mankind. Perhaps it may occasionally arise from both causes. But in either case, it is a censurable propensity, because it ultimately tends to defeat the designs of all faithful records, and to render questionable and suspicious even the best authenticated facts. In the former case it betrays the weakness, and, in the latter, the depravity of the human mind.

Facts are, in themselves, good or bad, independently of all opinions which we put upon them; and from what they are in their own natures, the authors of them must finally stand or fall. The false glosses which the varnish of language may give them, may deceive mankind, but cannot deceive Him before whom we must shortly make our appearance to give an account for those deeds done in the body, when we must abide the decision of his tribunal who shall judge both quick and dead.

> In the corrupted currents of this world,
> Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice;
> And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
> Buys out the law. But 'tis not so above;
> There is no shuffling; there the action
> Lies in its own nature; and we compell'd,
> Even in the teeth and forehead of our faults,
> To give in evidence.

The greatest men that ever ornamented human nature, have had their foes, and the greatest villains that ever disgraced mankind, have had their friends. These remarks are of general application; and though we may find some difficulty in discovering the motive, there can be none in discovering the fact.

To lessen the fame of Columbus, and to palliate, if not to deny the enormities of the Spaniards, in the extirpation of the peaceful and unoffending natives by some of the most inhuman butcheries which have ever disgraced mankind, some writers have affected in an indirect manner to call in question the veracity of Columbus; by representing these delightful islands as so many melancholy deserts, abounding chiefly with mountains and swamps, at once impenetrable, and hostile to the health of man. And from these circumstances they have inferred the scantiness of their population, in order to extenuate those unheard-of murders which depopulated this Archipelago, and in the short space of somewhat less than half a century, exterminated not less than *two millions of the human species*. And to aggravate the horrid facts, if such facts can be aggravated by any circumstance, no other pretence seems to be assigned, than that they were *Pagans*, *Infidels*, or *Heretics*, *and must be destroyed for the glory of God!*

How inscrutable and mysterious are the ways of Heaven! Perhaps few, if any, abstract arguments can furnish us with more decisive proofs of a future state, than those inhumanities which are practised in the world, and yet go unpunished. The justice of God is inseparable from his nature and being; and his being admits of demonstrative proof.

When Jamaica in 1655, under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, was taken from the Spaniards, it seems to have exhibited little less than a dreary waste, in which the lazy Spaniard was obliged to reside in dismal solitudes, which his merciless forefathers had occasioned, by crimes which we

Tree, raising their heads above their brethren of the forest, are without doubt deserving of that attention which their elevated rank in the vegetable kingdom imperiously demands. Of the Palmeto Royal, or Mountain Cabbage, Mr. Hughes, who wrote the history of Barbadoes, observes, "that the highest which he recollects to have seen in his time was 134 feet in height." Mr. Edwards, speaking from personal knowledge, says, "that in the island of Jamaica he has seen them upwards of 150 feet high, as well as calculation, unassisted by actual measurement, could ascertain; and Ligon, to whom Mr. Edwards appeals, mentions some at the first settlement of Barbadoes, which were not less than 200 feet in height. "Neither the tall Cedars of Lebanon, nor any trees of the forest, are equal to it (says Mr. Hughes) in height, beauty, or proportion." Like those mighty rivers, which grace the Southern Continent of America, and demand a place on maps of the most diminutive size, the Palmeto rises superior to the whole vegetable race, and stands, for its height and beauty, among the wonders of productive nature.

The Cedar and Mahogany swelling to an enormous size, not unfrequently measure nearly 90 feet, from the base to the first branches, which spread at that height from their trunks. These

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cannot reflect on without horror. Having exterminated the natives, and being glutted with human blood, they sunk down into a national apathy, regardless of the native beauties of the soil which they inhabited; and lived chiefly on those spontaneous productions of nature with which the islands abounded.

In the mean time the wild but native vigour of the soil and climate co-operating together, produced a variety of noxious weeds and deleterious plants. It was, in reality, such a place as the enemies of Columbus have represented all the islands to have been, on his first discoveries of, and primary visits to them. And such, in all probability, would it have remained until the present day, had it continued in their hands; which we may fairly infer by only adverting to the condition of the principal parts of Cuba and Porto Rico; which, though surrounded by the industry of neighbouring islands, which tends in general to stimulate exertion, and prompt to action, are, at this moment, chiefly calculated to confer disgrace on their possessors.

The Spaniards in Jamaica, when it was taken from them, under the direction of Cromwell in 1655, as well as the island on which they resided, exhibited a wretched picture of human nature in disgrace. Enervated by sloth, and sunk in indolence; enfeebled by luxury, and stupified through inactivity; their mental and bodily powers proved their relation to each other; and strong symptoms were discoverable in them, that they were fast verging towards a state similar to that which the country possessed. They appeared at no great distance from a state of barbarism; and, on this account, became an easy prey. But these facts and circumstances will appear more conspicuous, when we come to the particular description of each island. The characters of the natives, and the sentiments of Columbus, on the fertility and state of the country, will appear from a letter which he wrote to the king of Spain from Cuba. It will be inserted a few pages hence, for the satisfaction of the reader, who may then judge for himself.

trees seem admirably adapted to the climate in which they grow; and contribute, amid the scorching heats, which occasionally rage with almost intolerable violence, to relieve the inhabitants, by opening those cool and sequestered recesses which their shades afford. It is an awning which nature has provided, and adapted to these torrid climates, to relieve the inhabitants from those periodical inconveniences, to which they must be more or less exposed in every portion of this burning zone.

But these trees, lofty and enormous as they are, can stand in no competition, in point of bulk, with the Ceiba, or Wild Cotton Tree. It is a tree which seems admirably adapted to the purposes of Indian navigation; by which the natives are furnished with canoes, suited to those local expeditions which circumscribe their exploits; and in which the productions of nature seem to have superseded the achievements of art. To such prodigious magnitudes have these trees grown, that, without any additional timbers, and without any other art, than that which laborious exertion supplied in scooping and hollowing them into a concave form, they have been known to carry from 60 to 100 persons.

Nor were the bounties of Providence less conspicuous to the first voyagers through the medium of nature, in the number and fertility of those trees which were more immediately productive of fruit. In these the favours of infinite Goodness were scattered with an unsparing hand. The tender bud, the opening blossom, or the mellow fruit, never forsook these islands; nor ceased to clothe the hills and savannas with perpetual verdure, through all the changing seasons of the year. The various fruits, which are peculiar to these tropical regions, are too well known to need any description; they have found their way into Europe; and the natural productions of these islands, after undergoing a necessary process, constitute one of the most considerable branches of commerce that exists this day on the habitable globe.

The larger, or leeward islands, being thickly peopled, when first discovered by Columbus, with a mild and hospitable race, presented grounds which were not wholly in an uncultivated state. It is true the natives had no intercourse with foreign nations, and only raised what their necessities demanded. They wanted no influx of wealth, and they had no insatiable avarice, or ambition, to gratify; they raised nothing for exportation, nor carried their notions of aggrandizement beyond those islands which bounded their abodes. But their numbers were great, and though individual exertion was but small, the aggregate was considerable; and finally resulted in beneficial effects.

Their savannas being regularly sown twice a year with Maize,

by such amazing numbers as first peopled these islands, who had little else to engage their attention, must have been considerable to afford them any support. But the work being performed by such numbers, it could be accomplished without much difficulty; while a double harvest in such a fruitful climate must have yielded a considerable supply. But great as this supply might have been, it could not have been adequate to their wants. The productions of all-prolific nature constituted their greatest resource, and beguiled them of confidence in the utility of their own industry. The unfading springs of perennial vegetation had obtained an ascendency over their minds, and matured a reliance which a few temporary disasters could not shake. Their Maize seemed calculated to supply some comparative inconveniences; they had recourse to this on occasional circumstances, and trusted nature for all the rest.

But the benefits which resulted from this cultivation, did not immediately terminate with the harvests which succeeded to reward their toil. By the culture of their lands, they cleared them of noxious weeds, and of those useless shrubs which would have impeded the progress of those breezes, which are so necessary to salubrity; and through the astonishing elevation of the trees, together with the height at which the branches began to sprout, a free circulation was further opened to the breezes, which must have contributed greatly to establish the health of the natives.

In these alcoves of nature, which the interwoven foliage of the trees contributed to make, the natives must have found a sylvan recess. The irregular avenues, opening in every direction, must have invited the refreshing gales, as through an immense number of irregular but stately pillars, which seemed planted by nature to support an unfading canopy, placed above to parry the solar blaze. In these cool retreats, equally adapted for permanent habitation, or occasional retirement, they found protection or shelter, as occasional circumstances required. In the midst of heats which were almost insupportable, they were furnished with a refuge from their intenseness; and in the autumnal rains, they enjoyed in these abodes a defence from the impending cataract. Such was this delightful country when discovered by Columbus; and such, under changes of circumstances, is the general view of these islands in the present day!*

* In thus characterizing the climate at large, it is not the design of the author to insinuate, that it is to be considered as salubrious or insalubrious in the abstract. Generally speaking, these terms are but relative, and can only receive their respective denominations from the various subjects to which they apply. Men are suited to their native habitations; and the temperature of the atmosphere which is congenial to some constitutions, proves to others the

They have some permanent characters, which the ravages of time can hardly alter; which appear to be inseparable from their peculiar situation; and which must therefore be much

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bane of life. Many things therefore must be taken into the account, before either the salubrity or insalubrity of these extensive territories can be admitted as of universal application.

Since the discovery of these regions by Columbus, natives of almost every maritime nation in Europe have flocked thither in pursuit of wealth. Men, issuing from almost every latitude between the tropic of cancer and the arctic circle, must of necessity have carried into this burning climate, some constitutions which had been previously formed for the habitation of colder zones. The intense heat of these islands must therefore of necessity be but badly adapted either to promote or secure the health of all these adventurers. When we contemplate the vast range of latitude which lies between Denmark and some of the African shores, and behold the inhabitants of these distant countries residing on the same spot, it would be the height of folly for us to expect that the salubrity of the West Indies should be alike to all. That temperature of atmosphere which would prove congenial to a Norwegian, would freeze a native of Senegal; while, if we invert the order, we must conclude, that what would prove congenial to an African or Indian, would melt the Swede into languor, and render him unfit for those fatigues which are inseparable from a commercial life. Under these circumstances, even common exertions, in a climate which has unbraced the fibres and relaxed the strength, how natural soever they might have been deemed in the mother country, become a violence offered to nature, and may easily account for many of the deaths which happen, without obliging us to have recourse to those dreadful pestilences, in which "nature sickens, and each gale is death."

Intemperance, to which these regions hold out the most powerful temptations, may be considered as another cause, by which multitudes of Europeans meet their fate. "The ridiculous notion" (says Dr. Moseley) "that people are to die of putrid diseases in hot countries, unless they keep up their spirits, and embalm their bodies, by the assistance of an additional quantity of wine, strong liquors, and living well (as it is vulgarly called) has caused the death of thousands." Treatise on Tropical Diseases, p. 79. Why then shall the climate be charged with insalubrity, when inconsiderate indulgence exercises all its efforts to murder a constitution already debilitated by the sudden transitions which it has undergone? The fatal effects of this pernicious evil are unhappily but too well known in every country in Europe, even where the inhabitants are not transplanted from their native soil. It must be needless therefore to animadvert on these effects, where their cause is augmented; and that too in a country, which, in the eir of reason, demands the full exercise of all the abstemious virtues. Hence then both labour and intemperance conspire to bring vast multitudes of Europeans to their graves: and their effects may be estimated by the proportion with which these causes are permitted to operate.

We must not, however, suppose that these causes are alike destructive to all European constitutions. Their original distance in latitude, seems to afford the best barometer, admitting the influence of these causes to be the same.—Thus, the Spaniard is less affected with the shock which the transition occasions, than the Frenchman; the Frenchman less than the Englishman; and the Englishman still less than the natives of the more northern countries. In the mean while, the negro feels his vigour increase as the solar beams are fiercely darted upon him, in nearly the same proportion as that of the European declines through the powerful operation of the same cause. As to the native Indians who once inhabited these sylvan recesses, the murderous hand of Spain has prevented us from making many remarks on existing facts. We nevertheless

the same in all those records, which hold them forth to the notice of the world.

The temperature of the air, upon which the changes of the seasons so much depend in every portion of the world, may perhaps be considered among the permanent articles of nature in these islands. Subjected to regular variations, it observes a greater constancy than is to be found without the tropics, and contributes considerably towards those varied seasons which mark the year. The winters and summers of these islands can hardly be described in suitable language or by adequate ideas to the inhabitants of the more northern latitudes. The ideas which we have been accustomed to associate together, we have frequently much difficulty in separating, and in confining to those local occasions which called them into being.

Were we to follow nature in the divisions of the seasons in these islands, we should find but two; and these are the *dry* and the *wet*. But in imitation of European customs, where we cannot follow European manners, it is usual to divide these seasons into four; though they begin and end in different months, and will hardly justify the division which we make.

The spring usually commences with the month of May. The foliage of the trees then exhibits more lively colours than in the preceding months, and the gaieties of nature put on a more vivid hue. The periodical rains are then daily expected, by every kind of vegetation, by the earth which seems opening to receive its promised supply; and by the preparations which have been made by man. These rains generally set in about the middle of the month. Compared with those which fall in Autumn, they may be considered as gentle showers, which only sprinkle the surface of the soil. They descend chiefly in the middle of the day, approaching from the southern quarter; and break up with loud peals of thunder; which terminate the daily scene, disperse the clouds, and restore the skies to their wonted serenity. These rains continue for about a fortnight, with little or no variation; and when they cease, they leave the earth clothed with the smile of gratitude, and renewed in verdure, to unfold her opening blossoms to the summer's sun.

During this season, the transitions, through varied degrees of heat, are very sudden and uncertain. The thermometer is rarely in one position through any measurable distance. It fluctuates, and falters, and seems to labour under hesitations,

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less cannot but conclude, that a climate which is so congenial to men imported from Africa, must have been superlatively so to its native children.

For an account of the introduction and ravages of the yellow fever, see our History of Grenada, vol. ii. chap. xiii.

varying six or eight degrees in a short space. At length it determines in favour of superior heat, and fixes in a medium standard, at about 75 degrees. In the mean while vegetation, quickened with the rains which had fallen, and stimulated by the action of the solar rays, sprouts from every quarter; and moves onward with a rapidity that is almost inconceiveable. A change of seasons is evidently visible at the termination of the vernal rains; the sudden transitions are now past; and the weather becomes fixed and dry. The different degrees of heat afford no radical inconveniency to the inhabitants; a temporary languor occasionally felt, seems to be the greatest.

The season, established after these vernal, periodical rains, becomes tranquil and salutary; and the tropical summer immediately succeeds. Not a cloud is to be seen. The heat is excessive. The solar rays descending in a perpendicular direction, seem to pierce with an angry violence. A general languor is diffused through all animal nature; and the arid savannas bask beneath the almost insufferable blaze. Even vegetation, languishing beneath such intenseness, appears overpowered, and seems to ask relief. Through animated life an apparent silence ensues; and even the retreats which nature has provided among her delicious arbours, are insufficient to afford protection against the fierceness of the solstitial fires.

To counteract or lessen these inconveniences, the sea breeze regularly sets in about ten o'clock, and continues to blow with great force and refreshing vigour, during the remaining part of the day; in the evening it dies away, and the land breeze supplies its place. The causes of these breezes we shall soon proceed to explain, after having passed through the different seasons of the year.

The languor and debility which those heats occasioned, are however soon banished by this refreshing sea breeze; and all nature, awakened from a state of torpor, starts forth into renovated life. The heats which were almost insupportable and excessive, now become tolerable; nature seems to revive in all her works; and her shady recesses which afforded hardly any relief, are now pleasant and delightful. In these perennial retreats, beneath a canopy of foliage, which the solar rays can hardly penetrate, and which is supported by stupendous pillars, the diurnal breeze circulates without impediment, and offers an invitation to its cooling shades. These accommodating circumstances sufficiently recompense for the previous annoyances; and render these islands, even in the height of summer, delightful beyond those conceptions which we might be inclined to form.

In this season of the year, the tropical night keeps pace with

the tropical day. The nights are uncommonly bright and serene. The stars, which spangle in the etherial vault, emit a radiance which is unknown in Europe; and gild the hemisphere with an inconceivable brilliancy. Constellations which are invisible in England, here display their beauties, and shine through all the summer without being intercepted with a shade. The magnitudes of these stars appear to be enlarged; and many, which, through obstructing mediums, are invisible in the northern latitudes, are here conspicuous through the purity of the air. Some stars of the first magnitude, which the peculiar position of the heavens conceals from the higher latitudes, are not only visible in these climes, but shine with a lustre peculiar to themselves. The planets put on a more resplendent appearance; and display a refulgence which is exclusively applicable to the torrid zone. Their aspects are bolder and more striking than in other climates; and their radiance increases as well as that of the fixed stars. They glow with a brightness which, in this season, is sullied with no obstruction, and intermitted only by the periodical revolutions of the system. To increase the glory of this enchanting scene, the moon makes her appearance, not in "clouded majesty," but in resplendent brilliancy; diffusing a light which seems to originate in native lustre. In her presence, the stars, both erratic and fixed, are apparently eclipsed, and deprived of half their honours; while her light is sufficient for the transaction of almost any business in the open air. The smallest print may be read, without difficulty, by her light; and distant objects may plainly be seen. By her light the finest landscapes in nature are presented to the eye of the spectator; he gazes with admiration and wonder on the beauties which swarm around him, and wanders into the pathless regions of fancy without satiety or disgust. At the same time the air is tranquil and serene, and contributes greatly to heighten the general beauties of the night. Not a single cloud hides any portion of the vast expanse, or interrupts the contemplative mind in its pursuit of those meditations, which the solemnity of the scene and the stillness of the night had conspired to raise. It is a season which invites to serious thought, while it soothes the perturbations of the heaving bosom, and spreads tranquillity through all the powers of the soul. It is a season which awakens the mind to serious reflections; and carries the intellectual powers beyond the horizon which circumscribes the scene.* It is a sea-

* The beauty of a tropical night, in the summer season, surpasses all the powers of description. The lustre of the planets seems to increase in proportion to that of the fixed stars; the bodies of all appear magnified; and, on ac-

son calculated to convey the soul into futurity; to anticipate realities which lie beyond the grave; to connect what is past with that which is to come, and to make the mind deeply susceptible of consolation or remorse. In every country inhabited by man, the silence of night has been esteemed as congenial to meditation; but though "Night has been fair virtue's immemorial friend," yet, perhaps, there is no region on the earth, of which it can be said with more propriety, that "the conscious Moon, through every distant age, has held a lamp to wisdom."

Nearly the same weather which we have been describing, continues with trifling variations, through the months of June and July, and till about the middle of August. During these months the thermometer may be considered as standing at 80°, increasing, or decreasing, as occasional circumstances interpose. In the mornings it may be found at 75°, while at noon it is frequently at 85°, and notwithstanding the constancy and vigour of the diurnal, or sea breeze, is sometimes higher; so amazingly powerful is a vertical sun.

At the close of August, the sea breeze, to which animal and vegetable life were apparently indebted in a subordinate sense for their preservation, becomes irregular, wavers in uncertainty, and gradually dies away. The atmosphere then becomes sultry, and almost suffocating; and the groves at this period afford little or no protection. A general lassitude

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count of that appearance, they seem to approximate towards the earth. The brightness of Mars, of Jupiter, and of Venus, is so transcendent as to outshine the most splendid appearance that the heavens ever presented to our view in this country. Venus, in particular, occasionally appears horned like a little moon, and her light is so transcendently beautiful, as even to cast a shadow from houses, trees, and other objects, which tend to offer obstructions.

And when, to these appearances, we add the Moon rising in solemn and silent grandeur to heighten the magnificent scenery, it brightens the prospect while it expands the mind; and raises the sublime phænomena to the summit of more than earthly grandeur. There are perhaps but few places on the globe to which these lines of Homer can apply with greater exactness, than to a West Indian summer's night:—

As when the Moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heav'n's clear azure spreads her sacred light;
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene.
Around her throne, the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tip with silver ev'ry mountain's head.
Then shine the vales; the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
The conscious swains rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.

POPE, ILIAD VIII.

now prevails, which depresses the animal spirits, and the inhabitants seek relief in vain. The bright serenity which distinguished the previous months, now disappears; and the heat of the sun operates in all its vigour, without an assuasive to mitigate its force. The thermometer, at this period, occasionally exceeds 90°; the former season appears entirely broken up; and the whole climate seems to have undergone an important change. Instead of that regularly refreshing breeze which revived drooping nature, feeble and intermitting movements are rather perceived than felt, in the stagnant air; calculated to interrupt a lifeless calm, without communicating that vigour which all nature seems, imperiously, to solicit.

A silent and inactive calm, interrupted by these faint efforts of an expiring breeze, prevails, with little variation, from the middle or end of August to the beginning of October.—This, and the rainy season, which immediately succeeds, may justly be considered as the most sickly portion of the tropical year.*

* But even in the midst of these calms and faint efforts of the air, we may behold a kind display of infinite wisdom and goodness. In this we perceive the influences of secondary causes, subserving the great designs of God; acting in conformity with his love towards man, and with that tender mercy which is over all his works.

As the diurnal breeze commences with the month of May, or thereabout, and begins to falter about the middle of August, and shortly after totally expires, we plainly perceive that it continues to blow in those countries, while the sun is vertical, and seems to follow the sun through all his movements between the tropics. It therefore never forsakes any portion of the tropical regions, till the sun has actually forsaken his perpendicular station, and begun to dart his rays in an oblique manner. It is a breeze, which seems, from its causes and variations, always to accompany a vertical sun.

But for this salutary wind, in all probability, no animal life could be preserved in the torrid zone. And in these islands in particular, were this breeze to be recalled at an earlier period, at a time when the sun was in his annual zenith, it is more than probable, that vegetation, as well as animal life, would cease, if consequences, more fatal to the earth, were not to ensue. Thus we perceive that were it to blow on these islands, with its wonted violence, at any other season of the year, it would be apparently useless, if not detrimental to man; and were it to be withheld at this particular period, it would prove fatal to the inhabitants of these territories, if not to the globe. In the present constitution of the world, it therefore seems peculiarly adapted to the use and accommodation of man. It blows with fervour as the sun approaches the northern limb of Cancer, and continues without the intermission of a single day, until he retires again towards the south; and entirely ceases as he approaches the equator.

As these sea breezes act with vigour till the middle, or towards the end of August, they continue until the sun has descended to about 25° of Leo, and has lost nearly 10 degrees of his northern declination; so that the solar rays have to pass through an obliquity of 10 degrees. By these means the particular intenseness of their heat is broken, before the mediating gale is withdrawn. And though the atmosphere is very hot, even at that time, yet it is sufferable,

These languid and inefficient breezes, which only serve to prevent a perpetual calm, are harbingers of another important change, which the islands, the seasons, and the inhabitants, are about to undergo. They presage those violent rains which are shortly expected to water the country, and to make an ample recompence for the summer's drought. In the south and south-east quarters, clouds of a reddish hue begin to make their first appearance, moving onward, in large and irregular fleeces, indicating the near approach of those torrents which are about to fall. In the mean while the upper regions of the atmosphere retain their wonted serenity; we discover the summits of the mountains; and the objects which are visible on them, appear with a bluish tinge which seems to be occasioned by their distant elevation, free from vapours, and without a cloud. But though the summits of the mountains are free, the vapours gather fast and thick below. The clouds roll onward, the vapours rise, and both concur to load the atmosphere to a considerable height, and in a considerable degree. Impregnated with nitrous particles, and charged with accumulated exhalations, the clouds repair horizontally toward the mountains, round which they gather as a place of common rendezvous, before they begin to discharge their fluid treasures on the parched soil. The rains, however, occasionally fall in smart, but uncertain showers, while the va-

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which in all probability would have been impossible while the sun was vertical in the previous months, if no such breeze had been provided to bless the tropical world.

But why this breeze should be withdrawn from the islanders so soon, and even while the heat is scarcely supportable; why it is not continued till the atmosphere is freed from every noxious vapour, and all suffocating heats, are not for mortals to decide. They are points for the determination of Him alone who inhabiteth eternity, and filleth immensity with his presence; and who giveth to none any account of his ways. The same or similar questions may be proposed on all the phenomena of nature, and on the relative condition of man. But we can give to these questions no satisfactory solution, because our faculties are too limited, and are incompetent to the extensive grasp. On these and similar occasions we must terminate all our inquiries in first principles; and after soaring on the wing of human knowledge, till the flight conducts us into the regions of ignorance, we must resolve all into the power, and wisdom, and goodness of God. In the autumnal months, the action of the solar rays may be necessary to ripen the productions of the earth, and to renovate the soil, without admitting the impediment of the diurnal breeze to check its force. Or it may be to prepare the embryo seeds of future vegetation for ensuing years. Or it may be for reasons which are locked up in those recesses, which we cannot enter; and which, if unfolded with all the perspicuity of human language, our station in existence would not permit us to comprehend. Be these things however as they may, we may in all behold the Almighty shining forth in all the splendours of omnipotence and compassion; accommodating even those elements which he directs, to the wants and uses of the rational, the animal, and the inanimate parts of the world which he sustains.

pours gather together, and the clouds collect their forces. The heavens, in the mean while, discharge their artillery; and the thunder, in repeated vollies, echoes with a tremendous roar. The lightnings which accompany it, are concealed by the blaze of daylight, and only occasionally strike the organs of vision with any remarkable vivid flash. But in the night season, when the absent sun can no longer eclipse these momentary flames with his superior light; the glare of these lightnings gilding the bosoms of the mountains with lambent circles, darting in transverse directions through the gloom, and striking the eye in forms which will submit to no description; and this, heightened by the solemnity of the night, creates a scene at once awful, interesting, and sublime. And while the thunder thus rolls with an almost incessant peal, and the lightning blazes in lambent but inoffensive gleams; the distant but melancholy roaring of the agitated ocean contributes to heighten a scene already magnificent and awful, and to give the finishing touches to one of the noblest pictures that ever was displayed in the natural world.

October setting in, while the elements are thus conflicting; the frisking showers which occasionally dropped from the passing cloud, are absorbed in the inundations which they presaged. The windows of heaven appear to be opened; and the days of Noah seem again to revisit the earth. The skies pour down inconceivable torrents, and descending cataracts seem to deluge the earth. And while this cataclysm joins the elementary war, a general commotion seems visible in every quarter; and the porous earth receives her periodical supply. The impetuosity with which the clouds empty themselves of water to drench the thirsty ground, can hardly be conceived by the inhabitants of higher latitudes; the violence and quantity are peculiar to the climates in which they appear; and to obtain a complete knowledge of either, we must visit these abodes.

But though no adequate idea can be conveyed to a person who has not visited these countries, of the quantity of water, which falls, and inundates the earth, during these autumnals, it will perhaps be attended with no great difficulty to induce him to believe that the quantity and impetuosity with which these torrents fall, are providentially adapted to the climate. They rescue the land from the injuries of the preceding months, and contribute greatly to fertilize the soil. These are countries, in which nature seems to act with decisive vigour; its rains and sunshine are violent or intense; and in these views, second causes act with a promptitude which Europe never felt. Taking these islands collectively, it is computed that from sixty to sixty-five perpendicular inches, is the average quantity of rain which falls in a moderate year. In many cases the quantity has been

much greater, and in some of the islands it has occasionally been somewhat less. Were this average quantity to fall in England, or perhaps in any portion of the globe lying in the same parallel of latitude, the lands would be overflowed; the waters would become stagnant; the fruits of the earth would be prevented from ripening, and the air would be pestilential and corrupted; hostile to animal life, and inhospitable to man. The feeble power of the sun at our distance from the equator, would be insufficient to absorb it; while the rays acting in an oblique direction through every varied season of the year, could not so far dry up the ground, as to render such an amazing quantity necessary to replenish the soil. The quantity therefore which we have, is adapted to the region which we inhabit; directed and guided by that wisdom which superintends the world. But if on the contrary we reverse the scene, and suppose only 21 inches, which seems to be the medium of England, to fall in Jamaica, St. Domingo, or Barbadoes, the joint action of the sea-breeze and solar rays would demand an exhalation which the earth in that case could not supply. These powerful agents would pierce below the surface, and penetrate so deeply as to dry up the springs and sources of rivers. They would deprive the earth of her native fertility; and these islands would present to the adventurous voyager, the habitations of solitude; destitute of verdure, and devoid of animal life. The islands would appear like so many sandy deserts emerging from the ocean; or like so many solitary monuments, beaten occasionally by tempests, and burning beneath the rigours of a tropical sun. A suspension of these waters, but for one season, would in all probability occasion calamities, which we can hardly name; and introduce such mortality among the inhabitants, as would unpeople this portion of the globe.

In every part of the world we behold the goodness of the Almighty manifested; but these individual displays of divine power are considerably augmented by a comparative estimate of his ways. In the case before us we discover the happy adjustment of his dispensations; we behold the supplies which flow from his bounty, streaming through the world in regular distribution, and preserving, in harmony and relative order, the earth with all its varied productions, from the equator to the poles.

It is during these rains, that the climate may be deemed unhealthy, and multitudes are called to people the regions of the dead. The aged inhabitants, unable to withstand those shocks which the varying seasons oblige the constitution to undergo, fall victims to those epidemical diseases which God has permitted to ravage those islands. When these violent rains have

somewhat subsided, their effects continue to survive them; and these causes which fertilize the earth, prove destructive and fatal to man. The atmosphere, impregnated with unwholesome vapours, retains its noxious qualities for some considerable time; and the four last months are considered the most pernicious season of the year. The ravages of diseases which prove fatal to the old inhabitants, extend to those who are accustomed to the seas. Foreigners, from all parts of Europe, feel, at this season of the year, the fatal effects of that mortality which reigns through this Archipelago, especially those who are inclined to corpulence, and where habitual intemperance has been established through an indulgence of the appetites, which, in the fashionable style of polished life, is denominated *living free.*

It is at this season also that those dreadful scourges of God, which desolate plantations and lay whole territories waste, are waited for with fearful expectation. The hurricanes, and earthquakes, which occasionally visit these countries, and totally destroy the vintage of the year, are generally felt between the beginning of August and the close of October. Their effects have been frequently described with minute exactness, and their causes have been attempted to be explored. The former have been often experienced in all their horrors; but the latter, having hitherto baffled the researches of philosophy, appear still to lie concealed. The earthquakes which are known in these countries are, however, in the general, more tremendous in appearance, than in reality and effect. They visit, occasionally, different islands, and some slight shocks are felt in Jamaica almost every year. They rarely, however, produce any dreadful consequences; and no fatal effect, of any considerable note, has taken place since that horrid concussion of nature which happened in the month of June 1692; when the town of Port Royal, with all its merchandise, wealth, and inhabitants, found one common grave in the yawning earth. On the contrary, the hurricanes, those dreadful drawbacks from the beauty of these delightful islands, and from the commercial advantages of the planter and the merchant, have spread general devastation throughout complete districts of territory, and destroyed, in one devouring instant, whole plantations of tobacco, sugar, and indigo, the principal articles of home consumption, and of commerce with European nations.

Exposed to these vicissitudes, and subjected to these storms, the autumnal season moves onward through those months which terminate the year. In December, another considerable change takes place, in the temperature of the air, and the salubrity of the climate. On the northern shores of these islands, a heavy and tremendous surf is driven by a stiff gale, which blowing

from the northern quarter with some violence, and thence varying a few points towards the east, continues to act till it has driven away those noxious effluvia, which, occasioned by the autumnal calms and succeeding rains, prove so destructive to the life of man. The sea in the mean while, thus agitated by the operation of the aerial element, not only beats the northern rocks, but sends forth a perpetual and melancholy roar. At the same time the wind, blowing with a degree of eagerness, drives, on the summits of the elevated mountains, occasional showers of rain and hail, which are rather seen than felt, as these showers of hail rarely or never fall on the more sheltered savannas, which enjoy a milder climate.

By the uniform action of this northern gale, those unwholesome vapours, which were lodged by the autumnal rains in the stagnant atmosphere, are soon dispersed; returning health again revisits the islands; and the elements regain their wonted vigour. A succession of clear and mild weather then takes place; occasionally in December, but more frequently in January; which continues till the commencement of May, when the vernal season again begins. From January to May the climate is cool, and the air balsamic; and to those who had been accustomed to inhabit more frigid climates, it is refreshing and salubrious. The obstructions of the solar rays, which now dart obliquely through a quantity of the atmosphere, from the southern limb of Capricorn, prevent them from acting with that violence which we have seen in the solstice of summer; while the wind blowing at this season from the northern parts, contributes to establish that temperature which is now enjoyed.

These months which begin the year, may justly be styled the West India winter. But this season of winter is gathered rather from the position of the heavens, than from the sterility of the earth, or the frigid chills which are occasioned by the air. It is a season so free from frosts, and chilling fogs, and from those storms and snows which characterize the winters of other zones, that it is generally and justly esteemed the most wholesome and pleasant of all the seasons of the revolving year. It is a season in which coolness and genial warmth are happily united; and in which they conspire to establish that vigour which the preceding seasons had tended to impair. It is a season in which, under the providence of God, the healing hand of nature seems to make an ample restitution for all the severities which her rigours had occasioned; and in which she seems to prepare the inhabitants for a repetition of those variations which have been described.

Though the heat in the summer season exceeds that of any European country, yet the diurnal sea-breeze, which blows in

these climates from the east and its collateral points, purifies the air, and renders it salubrious even while the heat would be otherwise insupportable. The provisions which a kind Providence has made to mitigate these inconveniences, which arise at this season of the year in this burning region, are accommodating to the European residents. Should one particular spot be found too sultry for an abode; a removal to cool and umbrageous retreats, to spicy groves, or to the banks of refreshing rivulets, is easily accomplished by persons of fortune. A short remove at these times occasions a considerable variation in the temperature of the climate; and recesses may be found within the short distance of only six miles, in which a difference of 10 degrees variation of the thermometer may be experienced.

But the winter months form the most delightful season of the varied year. To persons in the decline of life, the warmth which this season affords, is suitable to their wants, without incommoding them with any annoyances; while the refreshing coolness, which the murmuring breezes waft along the glades, invigorates the autumn of human life; and the season in all its parts, seems to suspend the progress of age. To the sickly and feeble, these islands, in this season, form, perhaps, the happiest country in the world. The temperature of the climate mitigates the progress of disease, and soothes into tranquillity and repose the agitated spirits of the valetudinarian.

To these general descriptions which have been given of the different seasons which diversify the West India year, many exceptions must however be made. No general account which applies to such an extent of territory, and which ranges through such a diversity of islands, lying in so many different latitudes and longitudes, can be uniformly exact. But though many variations may be found, they are too trifling in their nature, and too local in their application, to justify a minute detail, which can convey no important information. The larger islands afford the greatest variety; and are liable to more exceptions than those which are comparatively small. Incidental circumstances in each island, call forth occasional variety, which through every year is marked with deviations. This casual variety must rise superior to all description, and convince the intelligent mind that nothing but general ideas can be conveyed.

We have however seen enough to convince us, that God, through the agency of second causes, acts in a variety of forms in different portions of the globe. In the northern regions of Europe we behold creation, in the depths of winter, wrapped in darkness; deprived of vegetation; and ermined over with perpetual snows. We see rivers deprived of motion, and congealed into ice; while frozen seas forget to move; and the blustering

storms breathe almost insufferable cold. We see all nature at a stand; the "pulse of life" appears to be suspended, while the glimmering of the stars affords a questionable light, which guides the natives of these inhospitable regions, through gloomy snows, to the *fairs of Finland*; or serve to light creation to her grave.

In the West Indies, the scene is not less magnificent, though God displays himself in other forms. The amazing fertility of the soil and the rapid progress of vegetation in the vernal season, discover the quickening power of Omnipotence; and hold out a striking contrast to the desolated regions of the north. The blaze of summer pierces with almost inconceivable intenseness; while the provision which God has made for the accommodation of man in these burning climes, by causing the sea-breeze to blow diurnally, checks the violence of the solar fire. When to this we add the refreshing land-breeze which blows off the shores by night, through which the air is purified and condensed, after having been rarefied by the heats of the preceding day, we behold at once the goodness and power of that omnipotent God, in whom we live and move and have our being. Nor is the King of eternity less conspicuous in the autumnal season of the year. The violence of hurricanes, and the incessant roaring of the agitated deep; the torrents of rain which descend from the skies; the convulsions of the land, when the islands heave with earthquakes; the tremendous peals of thunder which echo from mountain to mountain; and the gleamings of lightning, which dart in ten thousand inoffensive coruscations, impress the mind with the most awful sensations; and fill it with the most enlarged conceptions of that infinite power, which shines with irradiating lustre in the brilliancy of sunshine, and in the gloom of night. In the winter, if it may be so called, which rather crowns than blots the year, in these islands, the hand of almighty Goodness visits with peculiar compassion these favourite abodes. Renewing the wastes of the preceding seasons, and suspending the progress of disease and age; the God of seasons prepares both the soil and the inhabitants in all the varied modes in which life appears, for those ensuing vicissitudes which are inseparable from the climate of these islands.

Thus the progressive movements of the revolving year proclaim the immutability of him who controuls their actions, and directs their force. The most diminutive action of God displays his omnipotence; while the most obscure and questionable of his ways are founded in justice, though we cannot uniformly trace their course. There is nothing which is connected with God, that we can fully comprehend. That invisible fluid with which we are encircled, which we constantly respire, and

which acts occasionally with such violence upon our bodies, and upon the different parts of the natural world, remains almost entirely unknown, except in those effects which experiment will not permit us to doubt. It is an element which "bloweth where it listeth; we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

But the variations in the temperature of the air in these islands, depend more upon the wind than upon the changes of seasons. Wherever and whenever the wind ceases to blow, the heat is scorching; and the easterly and northerly are the only winds that moderate and refresh it. Those that blow from the south and west afford little relief; but they are much less frequent, and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to its influence, are turned round towards the west, and preserve that position, which they seem to have acquired by the constant and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger and more extended under ground towards the east, in order to afford them a fixed point, and to enable them to resist the power of the prevailing breeze. It has also been observed, that whenever the westerly wind blows pretty strongly, the trees are easily thrown down. In order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered. Strengthened as they are by those roots, which nature has provided for their protection, they are capable of making a considerable resistance to the violence of those gales which blow from the eastern quarters. But when they are assailed with those tornadoes which occasionally ravage these countries, they sink in vast numbers beneath the intolerable pressure, and mingle their honours with the dust.

The impetuosity of these tornadoes, which surpass all description, and defy resistance, breaks down every guard; and frequently lays plantations waste. The protection which nature has afforded to the vegetable part of creation, though suitable to all the occasional pressure of the diurnal breezes, is insufficient to withstand those outrages and shocks with which these islands are awfully visited. Originating in causes which are hitherto unexplored, these tornadoes are not more irregular in their natures than in their movements and effects. They baffle our most nicely-adjusted calculations, and oblige us to confess them to be tremendous visitations of God. They serve in conjunction with other branches of the vast phenomena of nature, to impress us with a view of our own imbecility, and to enlarge our conceptions of the power of God.

The easterly wind which blows between the tropics, depends upon two invariable causes, as far as we can judge from pro-

bability. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equator; because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east. Thus, the easterly wind, which in the West India islands is scarcely felt before 10 o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon, and decreases as it declines. Towards evening it ceases to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident: after the setting of the sun, the air from the land continuing for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the hot plains, after ascending towards the mountains, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea. This is what is generally called the land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night, on which account it is also named the night breeze; for it continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, and constitutes the diurnal sea breeze. The larger islands derive greater advantages from the night breeze than the lesser, from the great inequality of their surface; and it is therefore felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone, blowing on all sides from the land towards the shore, so that on a north shore this wind comes from the south, and on a south shore from the north.

This constant action and reaction of the breezes which blow between the tropics, during the otherwise insufferable heats of summer, seem wisely instituted by Divine Providence, to prevent those fatal effects which would otherwise result from the exhalations which would stagnate around the mountains, and on those extensive savannas from which they rise. The mountains which in themselves must tend to impede the free circulation of the diurnal breeze, are thus made subservient to the great design. They form a fixed point to which the rarefied air extends; till sufficiently condensed to become specifically heavier than it was when ascending, it descends again upon those plains from which it first arose. And having acquired by its elevation, a certain degree of coolness, the islands are refreshed from their centres to their remotest shores; and the stagnant vapours are driven from the land. Thus the mountains which impede the progress of the diurnal breeze, assist in promoting the opposite action of this purifying element, and in counteracting those temporary inconveniences which their previous obstructions had occasioned.

The advantages which result from the regularity of the winds in these quarters, are obvious to all who are engaged in mercan-

tile transactions, which oblige them to navigate these seas. Not only the inhabitants of the torrid zone feel the beneficial effects, but they extend to the extremities of those commercial connections which the produce of these islands occasions.

The inhabitants of distant regions can anticipate with exactness the courses of the winds at any given season of the revolving year. On these accounts they can prepare for those events and circumstances which are conducted with regularity in these parts; but which, beyond the tropics, baffle all calculation. The ships which are fitted out by European nations can be conducted to those latitudes which constant experiment has taught the mariners to know, when they fall in with the trade winds which will waft them in a regular direction to their desired port.

The internal works of the islands may also be carried onward with exactness; and enterprises may be calculated upon by the residents of these abodes, without making those allowances for such unforeseen obstructions as frequently arise in other countries from the uncertainty of the weather, and which often defeat the best concerted schemes. Their rainy and their dry seasons proceed with regularity; the times in which those changes are expected which periodically visit these parts, are well known; and those articles of commerce which the rains or dews would either damage or benefit, are secured or exposed, as the progress of the year shall decide.

The marine expeditions which are planned and undertaken in these islands, can be carried into execution without hazarding the issue of the event upon the uncertainty of the wind. The period of sailing can be determined before the vessel takes in her cargo, and the seamen who conduct her through the deep, can easily calculate upon the current of air which awaits them in different latitudes, long before they leave their native shores. But the advantages are too numerous to be minutely described, and too obvious to be overlooked; they are apparent in every department of commerce, and are felt in every quarter of the globe.

Both the diurnal and the night breeze contribute to carry off that general tendency to putrefaction which prevails during the autumnal rains; and which occasions a dampness, the effects of which are very disagreeable and detrimental to the inhabitants.

We have said in a preceding page, when describing the varied seasons of the year, that during the autumnal rains, and immediately afterwards, we might view in these islands the most sickly portion of the year. A general tendency to putrefaction prevails with rigour, among the living, and the dead. The unwholesome damps which float in the atmosphere at this season, are without doubt much greater than in the previous months; and

the intermission of the breezes at this time permits them to act with all their force. On these accounts those fatal diseases which ravage these climates, operate on the inhabitants without controul, and sometimes in a few hours prepare the body for the tomb. The intestines of the afflicted soon grow putrid through a combination of causes, and the progress of the disorder quickly reaches the seat of life.

The survivors who escape the disorders of this climate, or recover from them, feel in various forms the bad effects which this general tendency to putrefaction produces. They are effects which spread to every portion of their concerns; and even inanimate matter feels the pestilential breath of nature. Their dead must be buried within a few hours after they expire. Meat will not keep sweet above twenty-four hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread must be made up in biscuits, to prevent its growing mouldy: common wines soon turn sour, and iron grows rusty in the space of a day. Seeds cannot be preserved but with uncommon care and attention, until the proper season for sowing them returns.

When the West Indies were first settled, the corn that was sent to them for the support of the Europeans, who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to convey it to them unthrashed. This precaution however enhanced the price of it so much, that few people were able to purchase it. Flour was then substituted for grain, which lowered the price considerably; but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. At length, a merchant conceived that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran which causes its fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapness, and of keeping longer: he therefore caused it to be finely sifted, and put into strong casks, having it beaten closely together with an iron mallet, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarcely penetrate it. Experience justified this sensible contrivance, the practice became general, and it has since been considerably improved.*

* It has frequently been observed that "necessity is the parent of invention;" and the circumstance which we have just related, tends to confirm the truth of this remark. A variety of arts which we shall find among the original natives of these islands, and which we have even among ourselves, may without doubt be attributed to the same cause. But though invention may be considered to originate in necessity, necessity acts, in order to attain the object of its pursuit, through the medium of experiment, and moves with slow and uncouth steps through a labyrinth of error, to obtain that supply which it requires and pursues. Necessity therefore can only be considered as the active cause which calls exertion into being, and prompts experiment to those actions which so frequently terminate in success. Were it possible for us to

As the European nations became better acquainted with the climate and produce of these islands, they extended their views beyond the simple necessaries of life. The progress of time continually added improvements to those arts which were adapted to the country, and gave embellishment to original invention. The success which waited upon exertion in the simple necessaries of life, stimulated to future achievements, and called forth energies which lay before concealed. From necessaries they proceeded to the conveniences and comforts of their situation, and called forth those various luxuries, which these regions produced; and to which the climate seemed to invite.

Having now stated the advantages and beauties of these delightful abodes, and given a general description of the country at large; having taken a survey, which is of general application, both as to ancient and modern days, and stated the most prominent disadvantages which act as a counterbalance to the astonishing magnificence of the scenery, and uncommon fertility of these islands, but few things remain to be considered which are common to them all.

Of the general beauties and striking singularities which we have described, no question can be made. They are facts to which every voyager must be able to bear his testimony, and the disadvantages are but too well known to require any proof. In both cases the facts are authenticated by the historians to whom we have referred in the close of the Introduction, and their historical testimonies are confirmed by those who either reside in these islands, or pay them occasional visits in different seasons of the year.

What the feelings of Columbus and other early voyagers were, it is impossible to describe, and extremely difficult for us fully to conceive. On their first views of the astonishing scenery which these islands must have presented, the prospect must have been both enchanting and sublime.

Delightful in themselves beyond description, these islands must have awakened in the minds of those early adventurers, sensations which we cannot represent. After all the relations which have been given, in the various journals, in which have been noted from time to time the highly gratifying appearances of the country to the approaching seaman, they fall considerably short of those scenes which he realizes, when, after a long and frequently perilous voyage, this Eden of the western world first beams upon him with its charms. To the modern voyager its

trace those arts which now embellish Europe, to their infancy, we should behold them in their cradle, helpless and unpromising, without being able to discern those distant issues which now give confidence to our future hopes. But *necessity* excited to action; and *experiment* led on persevering application to those perfections in arts, which raise Europe superior to every other portion of the globe.

views exceed delineation; but to Columbus and his associates, though visible to their senses, they must have almost surpassed all belief.

Our modern voyagers arrive at these islands with minds already prepared by the various accounts which they have received, for something astonishingly magnificent, and sublimely grand. The mind in such a situation is awakened with romantic expectations; and visionary prospects press upon its sight. The images which crowd the imagination in such cases must nearly engross every avenue, and leave but little room, even for realities which are surprising, to operate in all their force. But enlarged as his conceptions are, the adventurer approaches these abodes of wonder, with sensations, which nothing but the real prospect can excite. His imaginary grandeur melts away, and disappears before that which is real, and he gazes with an insatiable curiosity, and a degree of silent astonishment, on the enchanting scenes, which open to his views. A pleasing harmony tranquillizes his bosom, and hushes the tumults of the disordered passions. A transport of joy diffuses itself through all his powers, and flushes his countenance with an involuntary smile. He inhales the perfumes which are scattered from aromatic shrubs, with exquisite delight; and, amid such a profusion of blessings, he half forgets his native land. The thoughtful mind, in this peculiar situation, sinks beneath the pressure of its own emotions, and appears absorbed in awful contemplation.

But powerful as these sensations are to the modern voyager, on his first approaches towards these Indian shores, they cannot stand in competition with those which Columbus must have felt, when the land first opened to his view. He had not been prepared by any antecedent account, and therefore must have been agitated with the most anxious solicitude, both for his reputation and his fate. Yet circumstanced as his mind was, the prospect must have delighted him with its beauties, and these beauties must have increased as he drew near, and opened their charms upon every sense.

Nor were his sensations less exquisite when he actually set his foot upon the land, either of Hispaniola, Cuba, or St. Salvadore. The abatement of the novelty did not quell the ardour of his soul, nor consign him over to that apathy, which frequently succeeds to disappointed hopes. The sentiments of Columbus on this occasion we learn from an extract of a letter written by him from Cuba to Ferdinand V. king of Spain, soon after he had visited that island. "There is a river which discharges itself into the harbour which I have named Porto Santo, of sufficient depth to be navigable. I had the curiosity to sound

it, and found it eight fathom; yet the water is so limpid, that I can easily discern the sand at the bottom. The banks of this river are embellished with lofty palm-trees, whose shades give a delicious freshness to the air; and the birds and the flowers are uncommon and beautiful. I was so delighted with the scene, that I had almost come to the resolution of staying here the remainder of my days; for, believe me, Sire, these countries far surpass all the rest of the world in beauty and conveniency; and I have frequently observed to my people, that, with all my endeavours to convey to your majesty an adequate idea of the charming objects which continually present themselves to our view, the description will fall greatly short of the reality." A multiplication of words rather than an improved account of this country, is to be found in the numerous writers upon the same subject; and so sensible have they been of the accuracy of Columbus, that most of them have preserved this valuable letter.

As the productions of the West Indies are various, and as they differ specifically from one another, their variety and utility will best appear in the description of each particular island. There are many natural productions, it must be admitted, which are of general application, and therefore might with equal propriety be introduced in a separate view; but such pursuits will detain us too long on preliminary matters, and prevent us from entering more immediately upon the great objects of this history.

The different species of animals and vegetables, which abound in the islands, would occupy too many of our pages, if described with minute exactness in this stage of the work; and to make selections where all is new, and therefore interesting, would be an unpleasant and difficult task.

Many of the land animals, and of the feathered race, which once inhabited these delightful abodes, are now no more. The desolating hand of man has pursued them with unjustifiable avidity, and exterminated them from this portion of the globe. Their names are preserved by historians, and some particulars of their features have been transmitted to us; but the pages of history are their only places of residence; they are struck from the lists of existence, and are to be found no more. Their names and their description will appear hereafter, when we proceed to contemplate their peculiarities, and to describe the places where they were found.

Such general observations as we have judged applicable to the islands at large, have been already introduced. The appearance of the country, its situation and general extent, have been given, together with the varied seasons of the tropical year. But lest from the manner in which the subjects have

been introduced, and to which we thus refer, it should be thought that the details are uniform and exact in all their parts, it is necessary again to remind the reader, that many deviations are to be found. The ideas which are conveyed, are only to be taken in a general point of view; allowing for those diversities, which must always be included in a country of any great extent; and which more particularly must be applicable to a group of islands, engrossing no inconsiderable portion of the globe.

From the observations which we have made on the various forms of inanimate matter, and the peculiar beauties with which these forms strike upon our senses; and from tracing the works of the Almighty Father, from inanimate matter through a few displays of vegetative life, we shall proceed in the next chapter to turn our thoughts to man. The various human beings that are scattered over the face of our sublunary sphere, present to our views a strange diversity of our race. The shades which in many cases darken the intellectual powers, are not less diversified, than those which distinguish the external features, and mark the skin. In the latter case, they pass through all the variety of light and shade; and in the former we behold the intellectual powers of man descending from exalted comprehension, through comparative knowledge, down to that degraded ignorance which half joins him in appearance to the brute creation.

Instructed by revelation, and guided by a degree of understanding which takes a circuit round human actions; and directed by a judgment which looks backward on the past, and anticipates the future, man rises above his apparent station in existence, and we behold him approaching towards angelic natures. But descending from this height, and pursuing man through all the intermediate stages of intellectual debasement and deformity; beholding him acting under the dominion of error; in captivity to his passions; impelled by appetite; directed by lawless sallies; deluded by his senses; actuated by instinct; or by those diabolical intruders which have stifled every thing that was good in his original nature when first created; we behold him, sinking to the lowest station, and joining himself to the tenants of the forest.

The situation of man in polished society, is not just at present our subject: but in this, in which it appears most degraded, it is less generally known. Its condition is not, however, on that account less certain. The facts of which the next two chapters will give a melancholy example, are but a specimen of the state of millions of our fellow-creatures in the present day, who now implore our assistance and solicit our relief.

CHAP. II.

NATIVES OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Reflections on their situation and calamities—their origin—character arising from their conduct towards the Spaniards—arrival of Columbus at Hispaniola—country—inhabitants—diversions—modes of life—personal and intellectual endowments—mechanic arts—governments—changes effected by the introduction of Cuanaboa a Charaibean Chief—history of Anacoana—religious rites—funeral solemnities—number of inhabitants—inhuman butcheries of the Spaniards—reflections on the whole.

THAT the various islands of the West Indies, both Leeward and Windward, when first visited by the Europeans, were inhabited by man, must be reckoned among those truths which supersede the necessity of all proof, and of which even incredulity will not permit us to doubt. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that the reader will expect some account to be given him of the original inhabitants in these introductory chapters. And in compliance with so just an expectation, this and the following chapter will be devoted to that purpose.

The aborigines have been invariably divided into two distinct classes of native Indians by Columbus himself, and by the earliest writers on this subject; and in this view they have been justly presented to the world. But in what light soever we consider them, much difficulty will attach to an investigation, which attempts to reach their origin, their internal manners and modes of life. A great deal of learned discussion may be found in Rochfort and La Bat upon this question, *Whether these islanders were all originally emigrants from the continents of North and South America, or whether we are to ascribe to them a transatlantic origin?* But the discoveries which have been made by British navigators in modern days, seem to have nearly decided the point; and they support that opinion, which, from the light of their discoveries, in conjunction with a train of circumstantial evidence, we have ventured to adopt.

The proofs drawn from these quarters, have induced us to suppose, that the Charaibees, or natives of the Windward Islands, migrated originally from some of the countries of the southern continent of America. The language and savage cus-

toms have been found to be similar in many prominent features; but particularly in one, which is both detestable and unnatural—the custom of devouring human flesh. It has, however, been asserted with much confidence, that this practice was by no means of a general nature. It has been said that it resulted from the impulse of momentary passion; and was confined solely to the bodies of such enemies, as were either slain in battle, or taken prisoners of war.

It is equally probable from the testimony of concurrent circumstances, that the natives of the Leeward Islands which were first discovered by Columbus, were a branch of the Apalachian Indians; a nation inhabiting the southern part of the northern continent of America. If therefore the natives of the Leeward Islands originally sprang from the Apalachian tribe, they in all probability migrated from the Florida shores.

These circumstances being premised, the proofs of which will appear hereafter, we proceed from a description of the islands, to make some observations on the origin and characters of their respective inhabitants. We have surveyed the climate in the varied seasons, and the amazing fertility of this Archipelago; and from vegetation we proceed to man.

We have already observed, that Columbus, in his first voyage, landed on an island, which, from pious gratitude, he named St. Salvadore; and that from thence he proceeded in his expedition, and discovered the extensive island of Hispaniola. These islands were both inhabited by a people who were in some measure civilized, or at least were devoid of that ferocity which is the general characteristic of savage manners. The islands which they respectively inhabited, were no improper index to their condition. The natives of the former were comparatively poor, and few in number; while those of the latter were vastly numerous, and exhibited every sign of opulence and ease. In his second voyage Columbus discovered both Cuba and Jamaica, but returned to Europe a second time, in considerable doubts whether Cuba were an island, or some part of an unknown continent, which was then for the first time visited by any civilized nation.*

* It may seem somewhat strange that Columbus should rest satisfied merely with the discovery of Cuba, without ascertaining whether it were an island or continent, especially as he had been appointed by the king of Spain, governor of all the territories which he had discovered, or should take possession of for the crown of Spain. His mind however seemed to be so intent upon the extensive prospects which lay before him, that he proceeded in the discovery of new islands, before he made himself fully acquainted with the boundaries of those which he had but partially made his own.

The natives of these islands, together with those of Porto Rico, discovered in their persons and features a striking similarity. They observed the same customs, and spoke the same language; they had the same religious views, lived in nearly the same manner, and practised the same superstitions. In their conduct they were kind, hospitable, and free; they seemed glad to promote the interests of their invaders; and without any suspicious apprehensions, they rejoiced in their prosperity, and sympathized with them in their woes. Nor did those features of their character arise either from fear or treacherous designs. Their friendship for Columbus and his associates followed them in their distresses, and their hospitality administered to their relief. Necessity alone obliged them to desert a number which it became excessively troublesome to supply; but even then they withdrew without offering to injure the afflicted Spaniards, though they could not have been insensible that it lay in their power to exterminate the whole race of their invaders. From these concurrent circumstances they have hitherto been considered as distinct branches of one common nation, and no just reason can be assigned why we should depart from this generally received opinion.

Of the Windward Islands our prospects are however very

- This island originally obtained the name of Cuba, from its first Indian possessors, which name it still retains. But though it was discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, perhaps seen by him in his first, it seems to have lain in a dormant state for many years. It was not till 1508, that its extremities were fully ascertained; and not till 1511 that any settlement was attempted to be made on it. In the year 1508, one Sebastian, by order of Nicholas Ovando, of infamous memory, ran down its coasts, and taking a circuit round it, ascertained its insular situation. In 1511 Jago Velasquez went thither with 300 men, and for the first time, after it had been discovered rather than possessed by the Spaniards for no less a period than 19 years, planted a small colony on the southern coast, near a fine port, which, probably after his own name, he denominated Jago. And though but few improvements have been made upon it from that distant period to the present moment, in a comparative view, yet the place of the first settlement is still known by its primary name; and the original appellation of the island and of its first settlement have been alike secured from innovation and change. The wisdom of Velasquez appears still conspicuous in his judicious selection of a spot on which to plant his infant colony. All circumstances considered, the place on which he fixed, may be deemed as the most congenial to his design, of any in the island; and it presents perhaps one of the most eligible situations of which the world can boast.

From these simple facts it evidently appears, that the extensive island of Cuba remained merely in a discovered state during the remnant of the life of Columbus, without either being known to be an island, or receiving any settlement from the continent of Europe. We have already observed that it was not settled until 1511, and Columbus died at Valladolid in 1506, without ever knowing the extent of those discoveries which he had made, even if we suppose that the vast continent of America was totally unknown to this extraordinary man.

different. Their inhabitants were just the reverse of those we have been describing. They were fierce, warlike, and barbarous; they were restless, and dissatisfied with the portions which Providence had allotted them; and embraced every opportunity of making depredatory incursions into the territories of their more peaceable and inoffensive neighbours. Their manners and customs were totally different from those of the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands; and from the circumstances of their native ferocity, they were regarded by them with terror and the most dreadful apprehensions.

The various Indians who inhabited this Archipelago, must therefore, like the islands which they inhabited, be divided into two classes. In general the inhabitants were separated in their conduct and customs, just where the islands are divided by the denomination of Windward and Leeward; we must therefore consider them in two distinct points of view. The particulars which we have been able to obtain of their origin, numbers, laws, customs, and religious conceptions, will appear respectively in the history of the tribe to which they belong; though it must be acknowledged that in each instance our information is slender, and frequently unsatisfactory. But such intelligence as we have been able to collect, shall be faithfully recorded in each case, and placed before the reader without any disguise.

The circumstances and facts which will be brought before us, respecting those tribes whose manners we shall contemplate, cannot fail to awaken some strong sensations in the contemplative mind; while it views in retrospection, the manners and customs of a numerous race of men who are now no more. In thus surveying the savage nations which will rise before us, human nature will appear with strange diversity. The Apalachian and the Charaibee will stand in contrast with each other; and afford us an opportunity of viewing the various passions, which, in a state of nature, agitate the bosoms of mankind. As the Leeward Islands were first discovered by Columbus, a survey of their inhabitants and of their unhappy fate have a prior claim to our consideration. We shall therefore devote this chapter to their pleasing yet mournful history, reserving our observations on the Charaibean character for our next research.

The fate of these unfortunate natives of the Leeward Islands furnishes perhaps one of the most tragical events that history has recorded. It discovers to the contemplative mind, such instances of unexampled horror and wanton cruelty as it must shudder to behold; it will develop such scenes as fiction has hardly exceeded, in those imaginary sufferings which have been invented to fill the bosom with compassion, and to extort the involuntary sigh.

Though capable of generous actions towards strangers in distress, though exercising the rights of hospitality with all the ardour of disinterested friendship towards their invaders; they have been the unhappy victims of perfidy, and the whole race has long since been extinct. They were robbed of their native lands by strangers; they were plundered of their property; and their complaints, under such acts of injustice, only exposed them to the insults of their inhuman pillagers; and were made the pretext for new scenes of depredation. Their persons, as well as lands, were seized; and they were doomed either to expire under those burdens which the merciless Spaniards imposed, or to find a release from their calamities through instant death, though attended with circumstances of barbarity which scarcely any thing short of the infernal demons could be able to inflict. A contemplation of such scenes, though it may fill the mind with painful sensations, will furnish the friend of the gospel of Jesus Christ with new evidences of a future state; and enable him to look forward with animated hopes to that period of restitution, in which the inscrutable ways of Heaven shall be unfolded, and in which God shall justify his conduct towards mankind.

In contemplating the fate of this unhappy people, we can only behold a race of men who once had an existence here below, but who are now cut off from the face of the earth. With their persons, without all doubt, have fallen many excellencies of character, which are wrapped in as much darkness, as now involves the internal parts of the fatal mines of Hispaniola, which once bore witness to the anguish of their souls, and returned in mournful echoes their expiring groans. The crimes of Ovando, like the crimes of Cortez, will steal from the bosom of the most insensible the sigh of sympathy and the frown of indignation; and it is difficult to recount the villanies of either, while we suppress the indignant wish. "But vengeance belongeth unto the Lord, and he will repay." The period is not remote when both Cortez and Ovando shall meet the millions whom they have murdered, and receive that reward which shall be distributed by the justice of God. The blood of the inoffensive sufferers has long been crying for vengeance; and it cannot be reconciled with the Divine justice, that this blood should cry in vain. The miseries of these unhappy Indians ensure a state of retribution both for themselves and their oppressors, though in ways and periods that we have no right to determine. But of this truth we may rest ourselves assured, that justice will not be forgotten, though it may be delayed. And certain we are, that it must be administered either in this world or in another; and what we miss in time, we must necessarily find in eternity.

The unhappy sufferers of Mexico and Hispaniola have long ceased to pour their groans into the ears of Europe. They are at present only known in the pages of history. And the unparalleled barbarities which they were doomed to suffer, will tend to conceal the perpetrators of their ruin, and to draw over the murdered Indians the shades of oblivion in future generations, because their calamities will surpass belief. The author who records their miseries, will be almost deemed an incredible writer; and while his narration will be perused with astonishment, it will perhaps be associated with the marvellous, and consigned to the shelves of romance.

Of the origin of the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands but little can now be said with certainty. Their early extermination by the Spanish invaders has left but few traces of their ancient manners, through the conformity of which to those of other nations an analogy might be traced; and under such circumstances the origin of such a people must necessarily be involved in darkness. A nation living in a state of nature, without any written records, must generally be the recorders of their own histories through traditionary reports; and in their extermination we must naturally expect to find that their persons and their registers will meet with one common grave.

The early Spanish historians have, however, borne an honourable testimony in their favour. They have represented them as men inoffensive to others, with minds apparently elevated above the circumstances of their condition, and capable of the most lively sensibilities. Their own reports appear in vindication of the unfortunate victims, and stand as evidences against the cruelties of their national invaders. Hospitable, generous, and unsuspicious, they seem to have been exactly the reverse of their Charaibean neighbours. They engaged in no warfare, committed no depredation, and invaded no man's right. Satisfied with the productions which nature spontaneously yielded in this prolific region, they enjoyed her bounties without solicitude, and they extended their thoughts in no romantic speculations beyond the confines of their wants and supplies. They exercised their simple powers of cultivation only to procure some auxiliary conveniences, without involving themselves in the issues of their harvests, or reckoning the products of agriculture among the staple commodities of life. Their wants and passions, which they had the means of gratifying, seemed to form the boundaries of their wishes, and they expected nothing more. They solicited no aggrandizement from any commercial intercourse with foreign nations; and though uninstructed in the schools of European philosophy, they had learned to place their views of greatness where disappointment could not mock their hopes,

Such were these simple natives, when first discovered and visited by the Europeans.

Of their origin much has been said, but nothing has been decided. Various writers have introduced different opinions; the most absurd of which is not easy to refute, and the most probable of which we must hesitate to adopt. But among the various historians, by whom they have been introduced to the notice of mankind, not one that I recollect, has presumed to give them any particular name. They are indifferently introduced as the aborigines of the Leeward Islands, or designated by that particular island on which they were found. Such at least are the appellations bestowed on this people by Brown, Sloane, the Abbé Raynal, and Edwards.

By the Charaibees who inhabited the Windward Islands, they were considered as a nation of the Arrowauks, descended originally from a people of that name, who inhabited some of the northern regions of South America, with whom the Charaibees were almost continually at war. In this opinion some of the above writers have concurred. How the Charaibees should be able to develop the origin of this people, when they were unable to give a satisfactory account of their own, is a point, it must be acknowledged, which will be attended with some difficulty to solve. The Arrowauks, from whom the Charaibees supposed this people to have descended, were, without all doubt, considered by them as their most inveterate enemies; and consequently to commit depredations on them, was rather a merit than a crime. It was on this account that they made frequent incursions into their territories, and found in that appellation which rapacity rather than justice had taught them to bestow, a kind of sanctuary for their robberies. To be an Arrowauk was to be an enemy of the Charaibees; and to be their enemy rendered war justifiable, wherever hope could promise conquest. The ease, and apparent opulence, which marked the condition of the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, could not fail to rouse their warlike spirits; and their indolent tranquillity, which the Charaibees could not avoid perceiving, must have pointed them out as an easy prey. Nothing, therefore, could remain in such a case to the Charaibees, but to obtain some specious pretence to justify their intended attack; and nothing could answer this purpose so completely as to denominate them Arrowauks. Neither the justice nor the injustice of the appellation formed any part of their considerations—that they were placed within the reach of conquest, and that this conquest would insure to them the spoils of war, bounded the utmost of their aims; and this was all they wanted to understand.

If the natives of the Leeward Islands were a colony of the

Arrowanks of South America, with whom both the continental and insular Charaibees were engaged in almost incessant wars, these inhabitants must have lost their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their customs and manners must have undergone a considerable alteration. A change of manners may sometimes be effected by a change of climate; and men by mixing with other nations may imbibe their sentiments and modes of conduct, and in process of time incorporate them with their own. But neither of these remarks can apply to the islanders of whom we speak. Their insular situation could no more affect their manners, or soften the martial vigour of their spirits, than the same cause could affect, under exactly the same circumstances, the condition of the Charaibees. These were robust and athletic, while those were effeminate, though remarkably active; but incapable of bearing the fatigues of war. Neither could this change arise from their intercourse with foreign nations. The only people with whom they seemed to be acquainted, were the Charaibees, and from these they could have imbibed little or nothing, but what would present us with an inverted character. These are reasons which induce us to dissent from the origin assigned them by the Charaibees.

Neither have we any satisfactory probabilities, which will induce us to believe that they were originally natives of any part of the southern continent. If the Charaibees were in possession of their islands first, and this was known to the others, upon what principle could the latter calculate upon the extent of the possessions of the former? They could have had no knowledge of any islands farther to the north; and if they had, it is natural to suppose that they would conclude, that as the Charaibees inhabited those islands which lay towards the southern continent, they also were in possession of those which lay still farther north. And if we suppose that the Charaibees were not in possession of their insular dominions, at the time when the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands emigrated from the southern continent, no satisfactory reason, I think, can be assigned, why they did not fix themselves in the Windward Islands, now denominated Charaibean. And even if we finally suppose that the Charaibees were in possession of the Windward Islands at the time of emigration, and that this was then unknown to the Leeward tribe, it is hard to conceive why they should persevere in coasting down island after island, when they must invariably have found them inhabited by the Charaibees. It is difficult to imagine what could possibly induce them to continue in an open sea, in pursuit of unknown lands, while they were discovering islands inhabited by cannibals, the limitation of whose power was the only restriction upon their fancied rights.

And to this we must add, that the people to whom we ascribe such an astonishing enterprise, must have traversed these seas in their native canoes, though they were in themselves neither sufficiently bold nor daring to accomplish an expedition which was attended with so many hazards.

Nor will these difficulties be much removed, if we suppose that these islanders embarked from the projecting lands of Jucatan, or Yucatan. The proximity of this promontory to the Havannah, might indeed give some sanction to the supposition; but even then it must be recollected that they would have prosecuted an entire windward passage to reach any of the Leeward Islands, from Yucatan, or indeed from any of these western shores.

From this isthmus of Yucatan, we must remove to the northern continent. No portion of land presents itself to our views, as we sail around the gulf of Mexico; nor can we find any spot more probable than those we have already passed, till we arrive at the Florida coasts. From the contiguity of these coasts to the Bahama islands; and from these to the four larger ones; a chain of communication is evidently preserved. The winds which blow between the tropics, conspire to favour such a communication, and to impress our minds with a full conviction of the sentiment, that the natives of the Leeward Islands were a colony of the Apalachian Indians, who inhabit these southern regions of the northern continent, and that they embarked for their insular habitations from the favourable projections of the Florida shores.

The nearness of the islands to this part of the continent; the favourable courses of the winds; the projection of the shores; and above all, the inhabitants being found in such abundance on these islands, while the Windward were inhabited by the Charaibees, are strong circumstances to prove their northern ancestry. And perhaps these circumstantial probabilities contain all the evidence that we have any reason to expect, on a point, in which neither oral nor written testimony can become our guide. The manners and customs of this people being so distinct from those of the Charaibees, justify us in assigning to them a distinct origin; and no portion of either continent can afford such a combination of probable circumstances, as that spot which has been pointed out.

But though these particulars may seem strong and convincing, it must not be forgotten that they are but branches of probable evidence. They are sufficient to produce conviction, where no counterbalance can oppose their influence. Nor must it be forgotten that the adoption of this sentiment is far from being universal. There are many who assign to them a different origin,

and give some strong reasons in support of the opinions which they adopt. But the proofs which they adduce, are of the same nature, rendered somewhat probable by a bold or striking feature which flashes conviction for the moment; but not being supported by collateral evidence, soon dies away, and leaves us in possession of a solitary circumstance for which we are unable to give any satisfactory account.

Among the different opinions which have been adopted on this difficult point, three places have been assigned as the source of their emigration; and these are, some part of the southern continent near the mouth of the Oronoco, the projecting lands of Yucatan, and the shores of Florida which we have already noticed.

In support of the first of these opinions, it is asserted on the historical testimony of Bartholomew Las Casas, that most of the natives of Trinidad, the most southern of all the Charaibee Islands, were of the same nation with those of the distant Leeward Islands: that their manners, customs, and language, exactly corresponded with them, and bore no resemblance to their surrounding neighbours, the Charaibees. But admitting this fact, it must be considered as a most astonishing circumstance. It rises like a solitary rock in the midst of an encircling ocean, unmarked in the chart of history, and leaves us surrounded by difficulties which we cannot penetrate. It is encumbered with perplexities, and exposed to obstacles which are insurmountable, even admitting we adopt the sentiment for which Las Casas from this circumstance contends. It is a sentiment which is deserted by the whole stream of probable incidents, and which, though imperious in itself abstractedly considered, we must do violence to our judgments to adopt.

In support of the second of these opinions it is asserted on the testimony of Juan de Grijalva, who was sent out from Cuba in 1518 to explore the coasts on the continental shores, that on the coast of Jucatan or Yucatan he fell in with a nation who spoke the same language with the inhabitants of Cuba. This has given rise to the second of these opinions, and conclusions have been drawn from this circumstance, that the Leeward Islands were peopled from these shores. But this circumstance, though extraordinary in itself, is not equally fraught with wonder with the former. It operates indeed against the improbabilities which we have started respecting the other supposition; but to admit it, we must imagine that these natives prosecuted a windward passage to reach those leeward Islands in which they were discovered by Columbus.

But even admitting the fact, the difficulty is far from being solved, namely, whether these islanders were originally natives

of North or South America. Indeed, if we allow Yucatan to have been inhabited by people of the same nation in 1518, when visited by Grijalva, it will not from thence follow that the islanders emigrated from that isthmus. The islands were in all probability peopled for ages before they were seen by Columbus; and the continental tribes might have moved, during that interval, to Yucatan from the Florida coasts; so that even this circumstance rather operates in favour of their northern ancestry.

The northern point of Yucatan lies nearly 11° above the isthmus of Darien, and is considerably nearer to the capes of Florida than to the land which joins the river Oronoco. We may therefore conclude with greater probability, that the Apalachians of Yucatan, if such they were, rather moved from Florida, than from the southern regions, to this portion of the continent in which they were discovered by Grijalva in 1518.

Having thus made some remarks on those different opinions which have evidently arisen from the discordant evidence which accompanies the origin of this nation, it is time to withdraw to examine the people themselves, into whose origin it is in vain further to inquire. We have stated our own opinion on this difficult article, and have presumed that the natives of the Leeward Islands were a colony of the Apalachian Indians, originally natives of North America; and that they entered the Bahama and other Leeward Islands from the contiguous head-lands of the Florida shores. But on these points our sentiments are far from being decisive. The reader must tread in the same steps, if he wishes to prosecute these inquiries; though he may be guided to a different decision on the origin of a people long since swept from the earth, and lodged in the embraces of eternity.

We have already observed in the preceding chapter, that it was in the month of October 1492, that the new world was first discovered; and that Columbus landed on one of the Bahama Islands at no great distance from the continent; which from a principle of gratitude to God for the many dangers which he had escaped, he denominated St. Salvadore. He then proceeded with the customary formalities, to take possession of this island for the crown of Spain. The Spaniards, says the Abbé Raynal, at that time did not imagine "that there could be any injustice in seizing upon a country which was not inhabited by Christians."

The natives, on beholding the ships approach their shores, and discovering on board of them a race of men so different from themselves, and from all they had been hitherto accus-

tomed to behold, were greatly terrified, and precipitately fled in the utmost consternation. The Spaniards pursued them, but without hostility; some of whom they overtook and caught; and treating them with great civility, they dismissed them, loaded with presents. An incident so unexpected, could not fail to excite the astonishment of the natives. Their previous apprehensions began gradually to abate, and consternation gave place to wonder and inquisitive curiosity.

A circumstance in this unexpected event, which gained so considerably upon the natives, and tended to raise the Spaniards in their estimation, was, that the person they first caught was a woman, who, though almost naked, was treated by their invaders with the utmost decency and honour. She was detained by them for a short season, and then dispatched to her countrymen with the presents she had received, that while exhibiting them for their inspection, she might relate the particulars of such an astonishing adventure. The natives, conscious that this woman had been in the power of their new visitants, and had been treated with delicacy instead of that brutality which they had been accustomed to receive from the ferocious Charaibees, formed an exalted notion of the strangers; and immediately dismissed their fears. The whole nation became interested in this event, and the conduct of the Spaniards gained the complete ascendency over the natives; and without further ceremony they became their friends.

The inhabitants having satisfied themselves that they had nothing to fear, soon appeared upon the shores in considerable numbers, but without arms, and without any warlike appearance. Several of the most intrepid, at the solicitations of the strangers, went on board. They gazed with admiration. They were lost in astonishment. They viewed every thing with an insatiable curiosity. It was a world of wonders. They were absorbed in contemplation, or buried in the torpor of amazement.

Nor were these natives idle spectators of the wonders with which they were encircled. They were ready on all occasions to assist the Spaniards, and even to anticipate their wishes before their invaders solicited their aid. Men, women, and children were employed in procuring them provisions, and in manifesting the most genuine hospitality. They filled the hammocks of the Spaniards with the finest cotton; while the more athletic among them, assisted their new visitants in getting on shore, even taking them on their shoulders, and carrying them safely to land.

Intelligence of this extraordinary adventure soon reached the natives of the neighbouring islands; and they flocked from

every quarter to behold a ship, and a race of men so totally different from every thing of a similar nature, which they had been accustomed to behold. The boats which were dispatched by Columbus to make further discoveries, were pursued by multitudes, but without any hostile appearance or design. The sailors who were in them, met every where with the same civil treatment; the islanders seemed actuated by a spirit of emulation, and strove by unremitting assiduity to outvie each other in the services which they voluntarily offered to the strangers who had visited their shores.

Men who are uninfluenced by cruelty, are naturally devoid of all suspicion. They estimate the conduct of others by the feelings of their own hearts; and too frequently become the dupes of imposition, and fall victims to the artifices of those monsters in human forms, who disturb the world, and disgrace mankind. This certainly was the case with the natives of the Leeward Islands. They are represented by the Spaniards as destitute of malice, and as discovering but little propensity to revenge. That they were benevolent, and humane, their conduct towards Columbus and his associates will fully evince. A single act of kindness obtained their confidence, and lulled asleep their suspicions, while the insidious Spaniards, taking advantage of their credulity, extorted from them all their secrets, and then consigned them to their fate.

But these remarks must not be understood either as applying to Columbus, or implicating his designs. His intentions were, without all doubt, of the most laudable nature; he uniformly inveighed against the ferocity of the Spaniards, and became at last a victim of that power which exterminated the inhabitants of these delightful isles. These remarks are rather applicable to the general character of the Spaniards, arising from their conduct towards the islanders, when frantic bigotry and insatiable avarice appeared to rival each other in discovering the deformity of the human mind; while they conspired together for the destruction of those natives whose miseries must stain the annals of Spain with blood.

In noticing the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands, Columbus and his companions observed, that they wore some ornaments which were made of gold. This excited the admiration of the Spaniards in their turn, as their appearance had previously excited that of the natives. This was no sooner perceived by the islanders, than, with a frankness and generosity rarely observable in savage life, they presented their ornaments made of this precious metal, without stipulating for either gratuity or reward. And finding the Spaniards highly pleased with the presents they

had received, they felt themselves amply recompensed in the gratification which they had conferred.

Columbus and his associates having surveyed the group of islands with which they were surrounded, proceeded to press their discoveries, and to pursue them to greater advantages than any they had yet received, or than the Bahama Islands were likely to bestow. The gold which they had obtained from the natives, inspired them with fresh ardour; they were confident that the precious metal could not have been imported from any considerable distance; and gold as well as territory now became an object of their pursuit.

Columbus having been informed by his Indian acquaintances from whom he had procured the presents of gold, that this metal was not the produce of their islands, learned from their intimations, that in a neighbouring island, which was very large, and which they called Hayti* or Ayti, it might be found in some degree of abundance. He therefore immediately directed his attention towards that island, to which he was conducted by some of the natives; who, without any distrust, exposed their country to the ravages of these invaders, unhappily considering them rather as divinities than men.

On their arrival at this island, they found it thickly peopled by a race of savages, if such they may be called, whose manners and customs, as well as language, bore a strict resemblance to the reports which had been given them at the Bahamas, from the people who acted as guides, and now conducted them thither. They were received by them, in much the same manner as they had been received at St. Salvadore, with boisterous hospitality, without the alloy of suspicion, or the timidity of fear.

The island on which they had now landed, was found on inspection to be of considerable magnitude, inhabited by a race of men whose numbers baffled all speedy calculation, but who spent their time in a species of indolent tranquillity. From the Bahamas, Columbus approached it on its northern side, from whence its elevated lands were conspicuous at a considerable distance, and formed a most magnificent scene.

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* Hayti or Ayti was the original Indian name of that island, when it was first visited by Columbus. It was named by the Spaniards Hispaniola. After a considerable time the name of Hispaniola was in its turn supplanted, and that of St. Domingo or San Domingo adopted in its stead. This name it still retains in most of our European maps and records, but it is not improbable that this appellation will also disappear. In the late struggles between the French and its black inhabitants, in which the latter have been victorious, this island has again changed its masters; and its swarthy defenders have revived its long lost Indian name; and it is once more denominated by them Hayti.

The island of Hayti or St. Domingo is about six hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and eighty in breadth. But in some places its breadth is considerably more. It is divided nearly in its centre by a vast chain of mountains which run from east to west, in most parts of considerable height, and in some perfectly inaccessible.

It was portioned into no less than five distinct kingdoms, all of which were very populous. The views of the inhabitants were directed to the same objects, and they lived in the most perfect amity with one another. Their kings, who were called caciques, possessed the most absolute authority, and from the decisions of their judgments there was no appeal. But though they were despotic, they were much beloved by their subjects; and the obedience which they received, seemed to arise more from a sense of duty, than from a dread of punishment.

Besides the caciques above mentioned, they had among them some inferior dignified ranks. The inhabitants were divided into two classes, one of which laid claim to a species of aggrandizement, which seemed but indifferently explained. They were a kind of privileged order; a sort of savage nobility; possessed of an indefinite prerogative, badly defined by themselves and by the Europeans, and perhaps worse understood. It was, however, an honorary distinction. In addition to these, they had sorcerers and magicians, who could, almost at any time, fill them with superstitious fears, or inspire them with fallacious hopes. Happy would it have been for them, had they cultivated with more attention the principles of common prudence; that they might have defended their country from the visits of a nation which was shortly to deluge its plains with their blood. Unhappily for them their country abounded with gold; and notwithstanding their numbers, they were placed within the reach of conquest. These formed abundant evidences of their guilt, and sufficient reasons to justify the Spaniards in exposing them to tortures, and finally exterminating them from the face of the earth.

But whatever orders of distinction they might have had among them, they had but few badges by which it could be known. The men and unmarried women went almost naked. The married women had a garment made of cotton, somewhat in the form of a petticoat, which reached however no farther than their knees. This constituted their only clothing. In their complexions they were much fairer than those of the Bahama Islands; but they painted their bodies as fancy or conveniency induced them, and by this means obscured their native features, which, but for the artificial distortions which they used, were

well turned and not unhandsome. As their wants were few, and these were chiefly supplied by the bounties of Providence, they cast no thoughts into futurity about the welfare of their offspring. Their time was spent in sleep, or in dancing and other diversions; and they seemed to consider pleasure as the chief end of their being. They lived in the indulgence of those passions which predominated in their hearts, and were in short slaves to sensuality.

In their persons they were tall but not robust. Less muscular than the general mass of Indian tribes, they were more inclined to that mode of indolent profligacy, which appeared to be the prevailing characteristic of their lives. The laborious exercises required more muscular energies than they were capable of exerting; hence the burdens which would not have been intolerable to less effeminate frames, became insupportable to them; they sunk beneath a pressure which they were not able to sustain, and for the support of which their appearances demonstrated that they were not formed.

But notwithstanding this aversion to labour, they were remarkably nimble and active, capable of extraordinary exertions in their public diversions; and in many cases they discovered an alertness and agility which seemed astonishing, and even apparently incompatible with their general character. The pliancy of their limbs, and the ease and gracefulness of their motions, on these occasions, were amazing almost beyond example, and they assumed attitudes which it would be nearly as difficult to describe, as it would to imitate. In public dances they were almost constantly exercising; in these they delighted, and in these they excelled.

When the sultry heats had abated, and the blaze of the solar beams had given place to the soft tranquillity of a West Indian night, it was their custom to associate together on particular occasions in a public dance in almost incredible numbers, and spend the night in this favourite amusement. At these public times it was not unusual for fifty thousand men and women to assemble together, and continue their dance from the commencement of the evening shades till the succeeding dawn. And though they had no particular music, they seemed actuated by one general impulse, and moved with such instinctive sameness as nothing but the fact itself could induce us to believe. Their hands, their feet, their bodies, were all impelled with one common gesture; and their time was measured by the responses which these motions gave to one another.

They had also among them another mode of diversion which required an equal, if not a superior display of dexterity, than the solemn dance which we have just described. The occasion-

ally met, and divided themselves into two parties, standing at no inconsiderable distance from each other. In this position an elastic ball was continually kept in motion between the parties, and was impelled and arrested in its career, as the circumstances of their gambols required and gave direction. But neither the hand, nor any instrument which it grasped, was made use of on this occasion. The foot, the elbow, or the head was alone to be the instrument of dexterity, and the repulses and actions which they would alternately communicate to their ball through such exertions and nimbleness, could not fail to fill the spectator with astonishment.

These circumstances are sufficient to prove, that they were not destitute of energy, though they were averse to labour. They demonstrate that they possessed capacities which were capable of considerable improvement; nor can any one just reason be assigned why that man who excels in dancing, or in protruding and repelling the ball, with more than European dexterity, should not be able to accomplish the less laborious works of the artist or mechanic.

In colour the inhabitants of Hispaniola approached nearly to a light brown, and appeared more like people who had acquired that complexion from the joint influence of the sun and atmosphere, than from any native shade, which we constantly find in those features which are matured by the torrid zone. The same complexion which distinguished the men, was alike observable in the female sex. Their features, it is true, were softened into tenderness, and they seemed totally deprived of that masculine austerity, which uniformly marks the rougher sex; but the national feature was visible in their countenances, and their native brown pervaded every rank and sex. The hair constituted the principal decoration of the virgins; they always permitted it to grow remarkably long; and on the embellishment of it they bestowed peculiar care. The fashions which prevailed among them, were not uniform and invariable. Sometimes their hair was tied in the most simple manner imaginable, with a fillet which confined its extremities to their foreheads, while at other times it was suffered to wander in graceful negligence over their shoulders.

Though their limbs and features were elegantly proportioned by the all-forming hand of God, the influence of custom had established in their minds a perverted taste. From what source they drew their conceptions of exquisite symmetry, it is hard to say; but certain it is in point of fact, that they invariably attempted to improve upon the copy which they derived from nature. The configuration of the head was doomed, in early infancy, to undergo an operation which must have been as painful in its appli-

cation, as it was disgusting in its effects. They contrived by the violence of external pressure, to depress all the forepart of the head, sinking it and all the forehead, from the opening of the skull to the eye-brows, remarkably flat; while they elevated the crown and all the hinder part of the skull to a disagreeable height; and by these means, in no inconsiderable degree, counteracted the form which nature had so liberally bestowed. Hence the masculine nose in particular appeared to be considerably flattened, the face looked very wide, and all the features of their faces discovered evident marks of distortion and violence. But the native softness of their manners shone through these obstructions; and though on a distant survey they discovered a roughness of feature, which gave them a forbidding aspect, the embellishments of nature upon a nearer inspection had a visible ascendency, and evidently beamed through the distortions of art. The avenues of sensibility were not completely shut. There was a certain something which beamed through their countenances, and a degree of openness which disdained concealment; they were capable of sympathizing in the distresses of their fellow-creatures, and of melting into tenderness in the presence of disasters, or a scene of woe. On this point Peter Martyr observes,—"It was an honest face, coarse but not gloomy, for it was enlivened by confidence, and softened by compassion."

In their habits of life they were remarkably temperate. Shellfish, maize, roots, fruits, and vegetables, constituted their continual fare; and to this vegetable diet, their aversion to labour and deficiency in bodily strength have been uniformly attributed. In their intellectual endowments they have been variously represented. They have occasionally been exalted too high, and not unfrequently depressed below their level. People who live without holding any intercourse with the rest of mankind, have but few opportunities of acquiring new ideas. The combination which arises from the simples of uniformity, can furnish but little variety; and in such a situation but little addition can be made to the original stock of complex ideas. Detached from the rest of the world, and feeling no inconveniences from that solitary condition, their inventions are the effects of accident rather than design. The improvements which they make, are generally acquired without the trouble of experiment, and retained with dormant inactivity till they become forgotten for want of application. The advantages which men derive from discoveries, through the progress of time, and the efforts of experiment in commercial nations, can produce no refinement in solitary abodes. The inhabitants of such a region embark in but

few adventures, and therefore have but few opportunities of acquiring knowledge.

To form a proper estimate of men we must not lose sight of their real condition. Without taking this into the account, our calculations will be unfounded, and our conclusions must be wrong. To estimate the natives of Hispaniola by the standard of Europe, will never lead us to appreciate with justice their intellectual powers. Yet on this ground those writers must have stood, who have pronounced so majestically upon their inferiority of genius and mental endowments. It is attended with but little difficulty to assert with confidence in favour of points which are not susceptible of proof. And it is equally easy to inveigh in a strain of declamation against the talents of any given people, when we place them on an improper ground.

The mind of man is so constituted, that it acquires strength by exercise, and derives vigour from those habits which are nursed by time. The gratification of appetites either artificial or real, and the real or imaginary inconveniences against which we wish to guard ourselves, are two motives which form a circle round our powers of invention. These operate upon the mind till it is stimulated to actions, to which it had been an entire stranger; and occasionally conduct it to such discoveries of arts and the improvements of them, as now embellish Europe, and enrich the world. The appetites which wait for gratification, must however in such a case be presumed to exist; and the inconveniences against which we attempt to guard, must be sensibly felt. Without this the powers of invention could have no stimulus to action in either case; invention under such circumstances must be almost an effect without a cause.

The artificial wants of the inhabitants of Europe are called into existence by their intercourse with distant nations, and their appetites increase in proportion to the means of gratification. But to the natives of Hispaniola, these observations will not apply. They held no intercourse with any people, whose modes of life could call new desires into existence; and consequently as the desire had no existence, the means of gratifying it and all attempts to obtain these means were alike unknown. The inconveniences of their situation were concealed from their understandings, because they were unable to compare their condition with that of other countries, the situation of whose inhabitants was preferable to their own. They might indeed have compared themselves with the Charaibees, but the comparison must have resulted in their favour; and tended to increase, rather than diminish, that domestic felicity which they enjoyed. And therefore what inconveniences soever might have been annexed to their situation, they must have been rather imagi-

pary than real. If they operated, their influence could scarcely have been felt, and consequently was incapable of producing any great effect. Neither appetite nor inconveniency could have acted with any considerable force, beyond the means which they possessed of indulging the former, and of removing the latter; and consequently their intellectual powers were scarcely called into action. They were rather devoid of the means of exercising their talents than destitute of the talents themselves; the bounties of nature supplied their real necessities, and artificial wants had not disturbed their peace. If therefore they discovered no energies of mind, it was rather because their faculties had not been called into action, than from any physical defect either in their bodily organs or their intellectual powers.

All circumstances considered, they discovered a degree of refinement which savage life but rarely exhibits. In the gentleness of their manners and the amiableness of their dispositions, they more than compensated for that intellectual vacancy which appeared. They seemed ready on all occasions to forgive the injuries which they had sustained, but revenge and resentment formed little or no part of their national character.

Nor were these benevolent dispositions confined to that momentary paroxysm which novelty is calculated to inspire. They manifested their friendship when distresses overtook the Spaniards. Every thing which they conceived the Spaniards deemed valuable, they bestowed with the liveliest emotions of generosity, and they only regretted that they had not more to give. "The islanders (says Raynal) offered them every thing, but they required more. They were perpetually asking them for provisions and gold. In short, these unhappy people harrassed themselves in gardening, hunting, fishing, and working in the mines for gold, to gratify the insatiable Spaniards, who at the same time considered them in no other light but that of traitors and rebellious slaves, whose lives might be taken away at pleasure." (Book VI. p. 260.)

But their assiduity to please, though it suspended the ferocity of their invaders, could not disarm them. The valuable articles of the natives were rather given by them to the Spaniards at their solicitation, than taken from them. Force was still reserved in store, to be applied when generosity had nothing further to bestow. The noble liberality of the natives might have melted a savage heart, but that which was sheathed in bigotry had never learned to thaw. It had been hardened on the anvil of superstition, was steeled against compassion, and had never yet melted at the generosity of another, nor felt the lively emotion of sympathetic woe.

That generosity prevailed among the natives to a considerable

degree, the following circumstances will fully prove. It happened not long after the arrival of Columbus at Hispaniola, that one of his vessels was wrecked on its shores. The liberal natives, instead of availing themselves of this disaster, assembled together on the solemn occasion, and surveyed the distresses of the unfortunate strangers with the most affecting sensibility. Instead of taking an advantage of the calamities which they beheld, and of securing to themselves the important articles which the ship must in their estimation have contained, they interested themselves in the welfare of the Spaniards amid the bursts of compassion and the tears of sincere condolence. A thousand canoes were instantly launched and put in motion, covering the water, and surrounding the wreck, assisting the seamen in getting safely on shore, and in securing such parts of the cargo as lay within their reach. By this timely aid not a single life was lost; and the greater part of the cargo was safely brought to land. The natives who remained on shore, bore an active part in the transaction; they watched with the utmost care the goods that were saved from the water, so that not a single article was lost. "Such was their promptitude," says the historian on this occasion, "that no friend for friend, nor brother beholding his brother in distress, could have manifested stronger emotions of pity and compassion."

In the mean while Guacanahari, the cacique, or king of that part of the island in which the accident happened, perceiving from on shore, that notwithstanding the efforts of his subjects to save both ship and cargo, the former and part of the latter were inevitably lost, waited on Columbus to condole with him in the midst of his severe misfortune. And while the tears of sympathy streamed down his venerable face, he offered all his possessions to compensate his loss. Such pictures of disinterested benevolence are rarely found among the most generous of the most enlightened nations; and in the history of savage countries, they stand without example, and without a rival.

Of the diversions of these islanders but little can be said. The public dance, and the action of the ball in a manner not much unlike the English pastime of cricket, we have already noticed, when adducing proofs of the activity of their persons in the various postures which their limbs and bodies could assume. In addition to these they had their private but licentious meetings, in which the dance was but a prelude to scenes of debauchery, which prevailed among them in an uncommon degree. It was a species of vice which held them in perpetual captivity, and predominated beyond all controul. The indulgence of the libidinous appetites they considered as one great end of their being; and the bounties of nature through the

false optics in which they viewed them, seemed to give countenance to these fallacious conclusions, and to cherish their voluptuous ideas.

Wrestlings and races among themselves for prizes, constituted another branch of their public diversions. They had no particular times to which these exercises were exclusively confined. The will of the parties, or the challenge of an individual, whenever it could rouse a spirit of emulation, was sufficient to call the racers or wrestlers forth to action; and as indolence rarely forsook the island, it always insured them a numerous train of spectators. Sometimes the Spaniards were entertained with mock encounters; and their modes of attack and defence were exhibited as really practised in times of war. The Charaibees were their only enemies. By them they were occasionally invaded; against whose incursions they were obliged to combat on the defensive; and sometimes would pursue them with offensive warfare, to drive them from their shores. The scenes which were really acted in times of hostility, were thus repeated in times of peace. They were seasons of some solemnity, as they were calculated to establish discipline, and were preparatives for emergencies which were yet unknown.

If a chieftain had fallen in any of their wars with the Charaibees, they formed a kind of heroic composition in his praise. These songs were taught to their children, and contained the principal memoirs of the lives of those on whose deaths they were respectively composed. These heroic effusions were introduced on public occasions, accompanied with dances suited to the time, and heightened with the sounds of musical instruments, in which the conch, and something which sounded like a drum, bore a considerable part. And as these exhibitions generally took place in the stillness of the evening, the sound was sonorous, and might be heard at a considerable distance.

But whether these solemnities may be ranked among their diversions or religious rites, is not easily determined. Their religion and their diversions, in many cases, seem to lose themselves in each other; and in some instances they were so interwoven, that the separation is beyond our power. Some branches of their diversions had within them certain traits of solemnity, which rendered them too serious for the occasion; while others which mixed with their idolatrous mode of worship, were fanciful and ridiculous in the highest degree.

Their knowledge of the useful arts was limited and confined, but not contemptible; to the liberal, they were perfect strangers; but the ornamental were not wholly unknown. They had none but themselves to gratify, and their own wants were easily

supplied. Their personal ornaments were few in number, and exhibited but little variety.

In common with all other Indian nations, they had learned to erect the hut, and make the canoe: nothing appeared in either remarkably striking, sufficient to entitle the islanders either to praise or blame. Their huts were constructed in the usual Indian manner, and their canoes were hollowed from the trunk of some enormous tree, which they had previously felled for that purpose. If they found this too small for their particular uses, they raised their gunnels with canes closely interwoven, and covered over with some bituminous or gummy substance, capable of repelling the rippling waters which rose to that height while they were afloat. These canoes by these means were sometimes swelled to a considerable magnitude, suited to all the purposes of their navigation. They have been known to navigate them with no less than forty oars,* while they have been laden with various commodities from the neighbouring islands.

To the cultivation of maize they were not wholly inattentive; and though individual labour was but partially exerted, yet the aggregate which resulted from an amazing number, must have been very considerable. The same materials which furnished them with tools for their other wants, without doubt supplied them with the means of providing such implements as the agriculture of their maize required.

The cassavi bread, they well knew how to prepare. They were capable of exerting their skill in extracting from the maniock † plant its poisonous qualities, and of transforming its

* The instruments with which they felled their trees and scooped their canoes, were sometimes made of stone ingeniously polished; and at other times of an exceedingly hard and durable wood, remarkably solid, and capable of supporting a strong edge. With these tools they accomplished their domestic labours, and finished some utensils which were of the most exquisite workmanship. And though the use of iron was wholly unknown to them, these tools supplied its place in no contemptible manner.

† The maniock or manihot is a crooked, knotty, and unsightly shrub. Its wood being soft and brittle, is of little or no service; but its roots, when properly prepared, afford a wholesome food, which is much in use among many Indian nations. Of what country it is a native, is not exactly known. Some ascribe it to Africa, some to the continent of America, and others to the East Indies. It is however more probable, that it is a native of no particular spot; it stands as a monument of the Divine goodness, and is to be found in a great part of those warm regions which are inhabited, and yet but sparingly cultivated, by man. In its raw state its juices are of a poisonous nature, which must be extracted either through the progress of time, or the application of art, before it can be converted into food. It is well known on the continent of America; in many islands of the Southern Ocean; in the East Indies; and in Africa. And it is a fact which will now admit of no dispute, that this plant was also found

roots into nutritive food. To them the breadfruit-tree of Otaheite was certainly unknown, but they had large plantations of yams and a variety of other esculent or eatable roots. They had also learned that water was essentially necessary to ripen the various productions of the earth; and they had contrived to supply the deficiencies of rain, in seasons of excessive drought, by diverting some branches of their rivers from their proper courses, and causing them to inundate the parched soil, to invigorate the glebe, and assist in the great process of nature against the approaching harvest.

The cotton which nature had spontaneously provided for them, they had learned to apply to convenient purposes. They wove it into cloth of an excellent quality, which served all their domestic purposes. It furnished them with beds, and such scanty garments as their matrons wore, and it suited all the occasional purposes of life. To utility they also added elegance, and tinged their cloths with a variety of dyes. The figures which they impressed, were without doubt of a romantic nature, but they were calculated to suit the prevailing taste; and even Europe can boast of little or nothing more. Their colours however, though irregularly dispersed, were not on that account the less exquisite in themselves. They manifested on some occasions a peculiar brilliancy and beauty, which few could imitate; and which with all the boasts of refinement, their invaders would have found difficult to exceed. These beds were woven in a peculiar manner, and manifested both ingenuity and curious workmanship. On the manufacture of their cotton in its various branches, their labour and art discovered the rudiments of genius, which if properly directed would have completely rescued these islanders from contempt, and from that degraded rank which they seem destined to sustain in the generality of those histories, which will hand their names to the future generations of the world.

Their domestic utensils were elegant and various, surpassing in number, and excelling in beauty, what might reasonably be expected from men in a savage state, inhabiting abodes unfrequented by strangers. When Bartholomew Columbus paid a formal visit to the unfortunate princess Anacoana, who then held considerable dominions on the island, he was surprised at

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among the first inhabitants of Hispaniola. It is without doubt a native of the warmer climates, but it seems to be scattered indiscriminately between the tropics. Thus has Almighty Goodness provided for the accommodation of man in every condition and in every zone. "He causeth his sun to shine upon the evil and the good; and his rains to descend upon the just and the unjust."

the magnificence and value of the utensils which her house afforded. Nor was he less astonished at her generosity, than dazzled with the workmanship which many articles displayed. On his departure, after having been entertained with much splendid hospitality, she presented him with fourteen chairs, and no less than sixty vessels of different kinds accommodated to the use of his kitchen and table. The chairs were made of ebony, remarkably neat; and finished with the most exquisite skill. The different vessels were adorned with various figures taken from the productions of nature, or the exuberance of fancy, as choice or inclination directed the taste of the artist. Sometimes the forms were fantastic, and manifested a combination of heterogeneous ideas, which nature never knew. But some utensils discovered much judgment, and had carved on them an exact similitude of many living animals, which were represented with the greatest fidelity, and had a striking resemblance adjusted and proportioned in all their parts.

When Columbus first landed on Hispaniola, the whole island was divided into five distinct partitions, as before observed, and placed under the dominion of five independent caciques or kings. Between the caciques and the common orders were placed some inferior officers, who were accountable for their conduct to the caciques alone. In their palaces these caciques were served with great state; their persons were considered as sacred, and they were always viewed with religious veneration. When they went abroad to survey their dominions, they were decorated with regal ornaments, and a train of attendants was always found to wait upon their prince. As no animals of burden were found in any of these islands, they could not avail themselves of European modes of travelling. To supply this defect, the caciques had recourse to an expedient of another kind, not unlike what is still practised in the east. They were placed on palanquins which were borne on men's shoulders, and were carried in sumptuous state to different parts of their territories, where business or choice directed their views, or invited their steps.

Their government was hereditary, and descended in a long line of family succession, subjected to a train of intricacies extremely difficult to comprehend. They however contrived so to settle the succession of the empire, as to prevent discordant claims, and to save their country from being embroiled with the horrors of a civil war. Their rights were defined. Ambition was not directed to extend their territories, nor was it ever made the pretext for shedding each other's blood.

The veneration with which they were treated during their lives, followed them beyond these boundaries of their earthly dominions. Their remains were venerated with a superstitious if not

idolatrous solemnity; and their virtues were recounted in the songs of glory which were chanted as occasions offered, with devotional airs. When death, in any form, put an end to the life of a cacique, his body was embowelled, and the orifice was closed. It was then put into a kind of oven which suited the occasion, and was heated with such peculiar moderation as would rather dry than shrivel the skin and muscles; which, as much as possible, they wished to preserve entire. When these solemnities were past, the body of the departed chieftain was carried to the sepulchre of his fathers, and deposited in a cave, which served as a royal vault.

There were however some occasional circumstances, in which they were obliged to deviate from this common practice. As the caciques were under a necessity when engaged in war for the defence of their country, against the Charaibees, of attending personally in the field, it sometimes happened that a cacique fell in battle; and that his body could not be recovered from the enemy. In such cases the solemn song was composed in his behalf, and the empire participated in the general woe. In this song his public and private virtues were recounted; his heroic deeds extolled; and his name was immortalized among his tribe. It was taught to their children, and handed onward from generation to generation; his name was revered as sacred, and every tribute of respect was paid to his memory.

When Columbus landed on this island, there was a cacique whose name was Cuanaboa; he was by birth a Charaib, and had sustained the rank of a war-captain among his native tribes. On an expedition which had been fitted out by his countrymen against the natives of Hispaniola, he had been entrusted with the command. He landed on their shores, and was favoured with success. The inhabitants of Hispaniola, alarmed at his enterprises, and the successes which attended him, effected by policy what they could not accomplish by force. They proceeded from arms to negotiation; and contrived to make this formidable enemy their friend. Behechio, whose dominions Cuanaboa had invaded, had a sister of exquisite beauty, whose name was Anacoana. To prevent the further incursions of the Charaibean invader, this beautiful princess was offered him as a wife, upon condition that he should remain among them, and promote the welfare of the island which he came purposely to ravage. A large portion of territory was allotted him on the island in consequence of the union to which he acceded, which territory he soon erected into an independent state.

The introduction of this illustrious foreigner tended much to increase their national strength. By the acquisition of such a formidable warrior, the whole island became less exposed to the

inroads of their neighbouring enemies; and they had learned to defend themselves without always despairing of success. His establishment in this country had introduced into his territories some knowledge of the Charaibean language, which had been diffused by his followers among the different orders of his newly acquired subjects. At the same time, it had improved their mode of warfare, and introduced among them the use of the bow and arrow, with which the native Hispaniolians had previously been unacquainted. Before this period a club or stick, which could hardly give a mortal blow, constituted their principal weapon.* And even at the time when they were visited by Columbus, so inexpert were they in the use of the bow and arrow, which were made of wood, "that the ordinary dress of the Spaniards (says Raynal) was of itself an impenetrable armour against arrows of this kind, shot with so little dexterity."

The alliance which Cuanaboa had thus formed, was productive of some considerable effects, both on him and the natives with whom he mixed. The amiable disposition of Anacoana had somewhat softened his ferocity, but not subdued it; it had in some measure restrained his violence, but not repressed his uncivilized courage. He was still the savage Charaibee, though divested of that barbarous rapacity which marked his countrymen in time of war. On the contrary, he had introduced among the natives of Hispaniola some customs that were peculiar to the Charaibs, which he had imported from his native land.

Among other things, their funeral solemnities had imbibed a species of honourable barbarity, which in all probability had no existence among the natives before their alliance with the Charaibean chief. From the time of his being invested with

* This, among other circumstances, is a strong presumptive proof that the natives of the Leeward Islands could not have descended from the Arrowauks of the continent; for the Arrowauks were engaged in almost perpetual wars with the Charaibees. This latter point no historian has attempted to deny; they must therefore have been provided with arms suitable to the occasion, as well as have been acquainted with the uses of them. But these particulars agree but indifferently with the condition of the natives of these islands. A people who from time immemorial had been able to withstand a formidable enemy, whose restless and sanguinary spirit would hardly allow them an interval of peace, could hardly lose sight of those methods of warfare which were capable of repelling so fierce a foe. But when we contemplate the arms, the persons, and the dispositions of the Hispaniolians, we find in them nothing but disparity. And from thence the conclusion is not unnatural—that these people could never have been the military rivals of the Charaibees. It then follows that they could not be the descendants of the Arrowauks; because under existing circumstances their military degeneracy was almost impossible, and consequently we must seek their origin in some other region, and we have found none so probable as the Florida shores.

royalty, the custom had gained a partial footing, of sacrificing to the shrine of a departed cacique one or more of his most favourite wives or female attendants, to wait upon him in another life. This horrid usage however had but very partially prevailed. A few solitary instances were all that could be adduced in support of this practice, which in its origin was evidently of Charaibean extraction. How far its influence might have reached in the progress of time, or what revolutions might have taken place in consequence of this Charaib's inauguration, it is impossible to say. But no question can be made that his ascendant power would have been very great. Whether the ferocious customs of the Charaibees would have been introduced among the amiable inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, or whether their mild dispositions would have so far overcome the barbarous stranger, that they might have imitated his courage without adopting his inhumanity, and he have embraced their peaceable dispositions without losing sight of his native courage, the shortness of his reign would not suffer to be known. Most certainly some considerable change would have taken place; and probably the distinct manners which were then so visible, would have been melted down, in process of time, into one general mass.

The barbarous customs of the Charaibees had however so far gained an ascendency in his dominions, that the amiable Anacoana was induced to adopt, in part, his savage manners. When Behechio her brother, who had given her in marriage to the Charaibean chief, died, she immediately became possessed of his vast dominions, and inherited them as her right. Her brother had been embowelled and deposited in the cave of which we have already spoken; and by her orders a beautiful woman whose name was Guanahata Benechina was burned alive in the same vault, that she might administer to the felicities of her departed husband in another life.* Indeed some writers

* As the history and fate of Anacoana and her Charaibean husband is too interesting to be passed over in silence, the reader will grant me his indulgence for introducing it in this place, rather than among the calamities, which the natives, in their extermination, were obliged to undergo. To account for a custom so cruel in itself, as the sacrifice of so many women, who were best beloved by the departed chief, and which seems so inconsistent with the general character of the natives, I have been obliged to introduce their names, and now proceed to conclude their history.

Columbus having taken possession of the island for the king of Spain, looked round for a spot on which to fix a settlement. Having found one congenial to his wishes, he proceeded to erect a fort, in the building of which he was aided by the assistance of the natives, who laboured with the utmost cheerfulness to complete the ruin of themselves and families, by forging shackles which not all their united efforts could finally break.

Columbus having completed his fort, and reconnoitred the island, having

affirm that on the death of a cacique, the greatest part, if not all his most favourite women, were immolated; and that they

established a friendly intercourse with the natives, and fixed *thirty-nine men* with arms and ammunition in the fort, prepared to quit Hispaniola, and return to Spain with the tidings of his astonishing adventure. He had not long left the island, before the band of robbers whom he had unfortunately left behind him, threw off all restraint. The haughty, licentious, and tyrannical dispositions of these Spaniards, who were now no longer overawed by the presence of Columbus, burst forth with the most uncontroulable violence. Their insatiable thirst for gold, carried them into the interior of the country; and their repeated inquiries after the precious metal, when the natives had no more to bestow, soon sunk them in their estimation. Their modes of conduct soon made them troublesome companions, and, from considering them as a superior race of beings, the natives would not allow them, in point of behaviour, to stand on an equal footing with themselves.

Before the Spaniards had rendered themselves thus suspicious, burdensome, and offensive, they were considered as a superior race of men. On their approaching to any of the Indian villages, the cacique, or some venerable Indian, went forth to meet them with every demonstration of respect. The common Indians in the mean while prostrated themselves before them, kissing their hands and feet, with a fondness approaching even to adoration. The trifling presents which the Spaniards bestowed, were received as favours of a most inestimable value, and were preserved with a degree of sacred veneration. The presence of the Spaniards was thought even to sanctify their dwellings, and they viewed their departure with the sincerest regret. "They gave the natives red caps, glass beads, pins, and knives, and little bells, and received gold in return." But the period of tranquillity was nearly at an end. The depredations of the Spaniards at length awakened the islanders from their supineness, and provoked them to revenge the insults which they had received. The natives with Cuanaboa the Charaibean chief at their head, attacked the Spaniards, most probably while they were engaged in some of their depredatory exploits, and completely cut them off, leaving not a single man alive. Having destroyed the Spaniards, they next proceeded to demolish the fort, which in the presence of Columbus they had contributed to raise.

The natives however were by no means unanimous on this occasion. Guacanahari, the cacique who had interested himself so much in the misfortunes of Columbus, was quite averse to the violent measures to which his countrymen had resorted in the case of the Spaniards; and he had defended them to the last extremity against the more violent and formidable tribe of Cuanaboa. On the return of Columbus from Europe, this venerable man appeared before him, covered with wounds which he had received in the defence of those marauders whom Columbus had left behind, and who had fallen victims to the irritated fury of the enraged Indians. At the same time he informed Columbus of the whole procedure; and pointed out Cuanaboa, as one who had borne an active part in the murder of the Spaniards.

By the relation which Columbus received from Guacanahari, "it appeared clear to him (says Raynal) that the Spaniards had drawn this misfortune upon themselves, by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour." Cuanaboa was however seized by the order of Columbus, who had now landed with considerable forces, capable of subduing, or acting towards the natives at his discretion. Cuanaboa being in the possession of the Spaniards, they had nothing further to fear from his prowess, and his followers were now left without a leader. He was put on board of a ship in order to be carried to Spain, to take his trial for the crimes which were preferred against him, but the ship foundered on her passage, and Cuanaboa and all the Spanish seamen perished; "the ship their coffin, and the sea their grave!"

submitted to their sufferings without any astonishing complaints. The despotism of the cacique inculcated a veneration, which operated much the same both in his life-time and after his death. Religion was introduced to give sanction to acts of barbarous absurdity. To resist the will of the cacique was not only base but impious; and he who offended this established rule, committed a crime which hardly admitted of any expiation. The commands of the monarch were implicitly obeyed, whe-

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The beautiful Anacoana being now left a widow, resided in the territory of Xaraguay, of which she became a female cacique by the death of her brother Behechio. Her territories extended from the fertile plains on which Leogane is now situated, to the western extremity of the island. "She had always (says Robertson) courted the friendship of the Spaniards, and loaded them with benefits; but some of the adherents of Roldan, having settled in her country, were so much exasperated at her endeavouring to restrain their excesses, that they accused her of having formed a plan to throw off the yoke, and to exterminate the Spaniards. Ovando, though he well knew what little credit was due to such profligate men, marched without further inquiry towards Xaragua or Xaraguay, with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen.

"To prevent the Indians taking any alarm at this hostile appearance, he gave out that his sole intention was to visit Anacoana, to whom his countrymen had been so much indebted, in the most respectful manner; and to regulate with her the mode of levying the tribute payable to the king of Spain.

"Anacoana, in order to receive this illustrious guest with due honours, assembled the principal men in her dominions, to the number of three hundred; and advancing at the head of these, accompanied by a great crowd of persons of inferior rank, she welcomed Ovando with songs and dances according to the mode of the country, and conducted him to the place of her residence. There he was feasted for many days with all the kindness of simple hospitality, and amused with the games and spectacles usual among the native Americans upon such occasions of mirth and festivity. But amid the security which this inspired, Ovando was meditating the destruction of his unsuspicious entertainer and her subjects. And the mean perfidy with which he executed his scheme, equalled his barbarity in forming it.

"Under the colour of exhibiting to the Indians the parade of an European tournament, he advanced with his troops in battle-array towards the house in which Anacoana and the chiefs who attended her, were assembled. The infantry took possession of the avenues which led to the village. The horsemen surrounded the house. These movements were the objects of admiration without any mixture of fear, until upon a signal which had been concerted, the Spaniards suddenly drew their swords, and rushed upon the Indians, defenceless, and astonished at an act of treachery which exceeded the conception of undesigning men. In a moment Anacoana was secured. All her attendants were seized and bound. Fire was then set to the house, and, without any examination or conviction, all these unhappy persons, the most illustrious in their own country, were consumed in the flames.

"Anacoana was reserved for a more ignominious fate. She was carried in chains to St. Domingo, the capital of the island, and after the formality of a trial before Spanish judges, she was condemned upon the evidence of those very men who had betrayed her, to be publicly hanged." Robertson's History of America.

It is useless to animadvert on the above narrative. The crimes which were committed by the Spaniards, are of such a flagrant nature, as to exhaust all the variety of language.

ther cruel or absurd; and the lives of his subjects depended on the cacique's voice. The declaration of his will and pleasure was sufficient to ensure obedience; he was under no necessity to assign reasons for his mandate; his judgment was deemed the fountain of rectitude, and his will was law. A dominion thus acquired over the mind of man, and guaranteed by the hopes and fears of another life, can have no bounds set to its operations. Superstition rivets the chain which ignorance and power conspired to forge; it binds its captives through life with more than iron fetters; and even death, among the natives of Hispaniola, was not able to dissolve the charm. Where the monarch is absolute, and governs his subjects without laws, an extensive empire can afford but little variety. The cruelty or humanity of the prince may appear in his decisions; but all that we behold, are either the incidents which rather belong to the private biography of the man than to the institutions of the politician, or the felicity and woe which alternately succeed each other. In such a situation the mind has no field in which to expatiate, and the power of selection hardly lies within its reach. Discrimination admits, in such cases, but of one division; on one side we behold unlimited power, and on the other the most abject submission; in that it is perfect despotism, and in this it is a horde of slaves.

Of their religious rites, and their views of an hereafter, something yet remains to be said; it would be treating them with injustice to pass over this article in silence, though the recital will place their theology in no very favourable point of view.

It has been generally granted, and with justice, that no nation has yet been found, totally destitute of all knowledge of a supreme Being, and without any expectation of a future state. The views which have been entertained by savage nations, have indeed been at all times very obscure; but the facts themselves have been received, and some traces of them have always been discovered in every age and nation of the world.

"The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Rom. i. 20. The evidence is therefore of universal application, and its language is too plain to be misunderstood. It is true that when "they knew God, they glorified him not as God; neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds,

and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves, who changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever." Rom. i. 21—25.

The passages I have quoted, are suitable more or less to every unenlightened nation; but certain it is that they are fully applicable to the tribes of whom we speak. Or perhaps we may rather say that the tribes themselves are applicable to these scriptures, and afford us another demonstrative evidence that the sacred writings came forth from God. And though the natural man may refuse his assent to these truths, as they are conveyed in the language of authority, yet when living evidences bear such a strong resemblance to these previous declarations, the mind must labour under difficulties in attempting to escape from its own convictions.

That these islanders were at once idolatrous and superstitious, are conclusions which seem necessarily to arise from their condition. But the deplorable ignorance into which they were sunk, and the absurdities which incorporated themselves with their creed, serve to tell us how much we are indebted to that revelation, which God, through Jesus Christ, has been pleased to bestow.

Like most other savage tribes, these islanders believed in a plurality of gods. They conceived however that there was one, whose power was omnipotent, and whose nature was immortal. To this God they ascribed creation, for they had not been instructed in those schools which teach mankind that the world was made by chance. But though they admitted a supreme Being, and even some of those attributes which are inseparable from his nature, they had so interwoven these truths with fable, and corrupted them by absurdity, that they frequently defeated their own intentions, and contradicted their professional belief. One absurdity frequently leads to another. The mind that has admitted the first error, can hardly afterwards stand firmly on its guard; it plunges deeper and deeper into the ocean which lies before it, till, without a compass and without a guide, it sinks overwhelmed in an unfathomable abyss.

To the supreme Being, though they admitted some of his essential attributes, they assigned a father and a mother; and though they distinguished them by a variety of appellations, they did not seem to annex to their conceptions of these imaginary deities any particular notions, either of power, or of good or evil. They merely allowed them an existence, but beyond this their knowledge of their excellencies or defects did not pre-

tend to pass. They however imagined that these aged beings were of a spiritual nature, that they were capable of transporting themselves from one abode to another, but that their proper places of residence were in the sun and moon.

But though they allowed of a supreme God, to whose goodness they gave the fullest credit, they imagined, like most other savage nations, that he was utterly regardless of the world and its inhabitants. They conceived that, highest in felicity as well as power, he had committed the government of the world, and of all sublunary things, to the management of inferior agents or genii, which they called zemi, who by their power produced the various changes of moral and physical evil, which are seen here below. These subordinate beings to whom the Almighty had committed the government and direction of the world, they considered as of a malignant nature, aiming at the subversion of the original and grand design of God. Their devotions were therefore of a gloomy kind; and were calculated to fill their minds with frightful conceptions, and horrid apprehensions. The tribute of grateful acknowledgment for favours previously received, flowing from a susceptibility of soul, formed no part of their religious exercises; they were neither cheered by confidence, nor enlivened by hope. To avert impending danger, and conciliate the esteem of those malicious demons, who were constantly contriving how to counteract the purposes of God, and to render human life afflictive and intolerable, was the principal object which they had in view. It was an acknowledgment of inferiority without gratitude, and a gloomy submission which was a stranger to love.

But these malignant deities were not accessible to the multitude without the intervention of the priest. They had an idol temple in almost every village, and bohitos or priests who interposed between them and the zami or zemi which they invoked. But it was only on particular occasions that the multitude were permitted to enter the house appropriated to their consecrated idols. The bohitos were always at hand, and could carry the requests and invocations of the rabble, and bring back the auricular responses which the zemi had made. The bohitos were, on all occasions, the interpreters of the zemi's answers, and could procure or avert by their prayers the dangers which threatened to imbitter life. The bohitos and zemi were in close alliance, and were capable of managing the giddy throng.

Through the mediation of the bohitos, the caciques extended their dominion over the people, as conveniency directed their power. The cacique and bohito rarely differed in opinion; they understood each other's business, and managed matters with no contemptible dexterity. The former proposed, and the latter:

ratified; the zemi were consulted on the occasion; and the result was always the will of heaven.

From this close connection between the cacique and the bohitos, the cacique had little need of coercive power; his subjects were the slaves of superstition, and he could ensure obedience without inflicting any punishment. In the shades of the darkest ignorance, the deluded throng imagined that they were living under a theocracy; and visible proofs of the commands of their gods were constantly exhibited before their eyes. Arts and sciences were but little known, but deception had made a considerable progress. Error had become too formidable to submit to any controul, and it had received a polish which dazzled the sight of those who attempted to penetrate beneath its surface.

To the dignified employment of conversing with the zemi, the bohitos added the practice of physic, and thus undertook to provide for the bodies, as well as the souls, of the tribes committed to their care. Nothing was omitted to give them a complete ascendency; and while the cacique and bohito continued to act in concert, they had nothing to fear from a revolution in the state. To heighten this power, and to give the bohito the superlative degree of influence, he was entrusted with the education of all the children of the subordinate nobility. By these means he was placed in a situation of preparing those of the rising generation for the same shackles which had held their forefathers in chains.

In those temples which were erected in the different villages, the fancied images of their idols were placed; their forms were horrid, and frightful beyond all description. They appeared to be the refuse of deformity, improved by the joint efforts of ignorance and superstition, which had conspired together to transform a monster into a god. Sometimes these idols resembled hideous serpents, and other branches of the noxious tribe; at other times the scattered remnants of the human face were visible; but it was sufficiently distorted to become frightful. It was a face in which some distant lineaments of the human features were barely discoverable under a cloud of the most dismal deformity.

It was only on particular occasions, that into this temple, crowded with such detestable monsters, the multitude were permitted to enter. At such times they had an opportunity of beholding the bohitos invoke the zemi, and of hearing for themselves the answers which were given in reply. And while superstition stood trembling before the altar of incantation, surrounded with the most horrible idols, which were only faint resemblances of the more hideous images of his mind, the

affrighted Indian appalled into silence, through the evidences of his senses, submitted to imposition without a murmur and without regret.

The religion of these natives was idolatry, but it answered the end for which it was cherished. It was the tool of the cacique, the trade of the bohito, and the bugbear of the affrighted crowd.*

It has been already observed that the diversions and religious rites of these islanders bore such a striking resemblance to each other, that it was attended with much difficulty to determine to which department they belonged. Sometimes their diversions assumed an air of dignified gravity; and then dwindled again into frivolousness and ignorance of the most disgraceful kind. Spontaneous effusions were occasionally delivered on particular solemnities, accompanied with such music and rejoicing, or such doleful lamentations, as the subject was calculated to inspire. But we are not sufficiently acquainted with the minute circumstances of their domestic history, to know with exactness in what particular places their various ceremonies were solemnized. But taking the occasion for our guide, it is highly probable that many of them were celebrated in these temples which were appropriated to the worship of their gods.

It has been asserted with much confidence, and perhaps with

* It was into one of these idol temples, that some of the seamen of Columbus entered, at a moment when the cacique himself was in waiting, to obtain from the zemi some auricular responses to questions which had been previously proposed. The seamen hearing a human voice issue from the zemi which was invoked, suspected there was something of fraud in the business, and they determined at all events to sift this matter to the bottom. There is a degree of thoughtlessness about sailors, which renders them blind to future consequences; it was however the case with those of Columbus, though it issued in nothing very serious. From the sound which they heard, they were fully assured that the idol was not solid; and that the voice originated in another cause. Full of this conviction, and destitute of fear, they, without ceremony, threw the idol upon the ground, and discovered the whole affair. They found that through the hinder parts of this idol, a tube had been inserted, which passing closely to the ground, had been concealed by some leaves which were too sacred to be removed by vulgar hands; and that this tube, passing onward into another apartment, was brought into contact with the mouth of a bohito, who had communicated speech to the zemi as above described. The cacique somewhat disconcerted at this sacrilegious rudeness of the European sailors, and at the unexpected discovery which they had made, was at a loss how to proceed. He however, after a while, recovered his wonted cheerfulness, and requested with the most earnest solicitude, that the discovery of the fraud might not transpire among the natives; observing at the same time, that such pious impositions were necessary to overawe his subjects, which answered his designs without having recourse to the rigours of force. And, furthermore, that as through the assistance of the zemi he was enabled to keep alive in all his subjects the most unreserved obedience, so he could collect his tributes from every part of his dominions without fraud or embezzlement.

truth, that among these occasional solemnities, there was one which predicted their national ruin. It was of a traditionary nature, and claimed its origin in some era of remote antiquity, of which they could form no conception. The purport of this tradition which was recited on particular occasions, intimated "that a period should arrive in the progress of time, in which their country should be invested with a band of strangers; who, completely clothed, and armed with weapons which bore a near resemblance to the lightnings of heaven, should spread ruin and desolation over their happy plains." The particular vehemence with which this dreadful prophecy was denounced, which was always observed on such awful occasions, must have added considerably to the solemnity of the scene. And we may naturally conceive, that the wailings and lamentations which accompanied this awful recital, must have been strongly expressive of the internal feelings and anguish of their souls.

On the origin of such a prediction it is folly to animadvert. Not a ray of light can guide us through that labyrinth of conjecture, which will increase in proportion as we attempt to penetrate its shades. Admitting the fact, we can impute it to no other cause, than the immediate communication of Heaven; but for what end we are at a loss to conceive, unless we admit that it was to warn them of their approaching dissolution as a nation by the hands of European barbarians; and to instruct them through that medium, to prepare for the awful and important event. What effect such a prediction must have had on their minds, when the Spaniards first visited their shores, it is not easy to determine. Their conduct towards them seemed to indicate that they paid but little attention to the prediction which they had often heard, because the caresses which they bestowed upon the Spaniards, intimated that they considered them as friends. The apparently amiable disposition of their new visitors might have counterbalanced their apprehensions of terror; and their wishes and their hopes might have both conspired to silence suspicion, and to induce them to think that the prediction would not then be fulfilled. It is nevertheless a possible case that their conduct towards the Spaniards might have been dictated by fear. They might have treated them as a superior race of beings, to conciliate their friendship, and to avert that calamity to which the prediction led. Perhaps this sentiment may be too refined. No part of their conduct could justify the charge of their insincerity towards Columbus. They certainly seemed to act from the impulse of generosity, with hardly a single instance of deviation.

It is however not improbable, that, in this early season, the novelty of those appearances with which they were surrounded,

might have eclipsed their fears; and they might not have awakened from that torpor, till they imagined that resistance was no longer in their power. And on this ground their humanity towards the Spaniards, might have been considered by them as the most eligible method of meeting those dangers which they could no longer avert by having recourse to arms. To this sentiment a memorable speech delivered to Columbus on his arrival at the island of Cuba, seems to give some kind of sanction. It is recorded on the credit of such authority, as we have no just right to question, that a cacique in that island, whose age had made him venerable, impressed with reverence at the sight of such strangers, presented Columbus with a basket of fruit, accompanying it at the same time with the following extraordinary speech: "Whether you are divinities, or mortal men, we know not. You are come into these countries with a force, against which, were we inclined to resist it, resistance would be folly. We are all therefore at your mercy. But if you are men subject to mortality like ourselves, you cannot be unapprized, that after this life there is another, wherein a very different portion is allotted to good and bad men. If therefore you expect to die, and believe with us that every one is to be rewarded in a future state according to his conduct in the present, you will do no hurt to those who do none to you."*

Of their moral views and conceptions of an hereafter, the above speech will furnish us with no very inadequate idea. It is a gem which sparkles in the midst of surrounding rubbish, and diffuses lustre through the otherwise unenlightened gloom. We may learn from hence that they were fully satisfied of a future state in common with all other Indian tribes; and that in addition to this circumstance, they were satisfactorily convinced that the felicities and woes of an hereafter, stood in close connexion with the actions of the present life. Such conceptions could have arisen from no other cause than the immediate impression of God—of that "Light who lighteth every man that cometh into the world." (John i. 9.) Almighty power and infinite goodness can operate in ways and manners

* On this astonishing speech it is perhaps just to remark, that it is said to have been delivered on the 7th day of July, 1494. It was interpreted to Columbus by one of those Indians whom he had taken with him to Europe on a former voyage. This Indian having been with Columbus nearly two years, had acquired a knowledge of the Spanish tongue, and acted as a linguist on other occasions also. The above speech is recorded by Peter Martyr, by Herrara, and by Mr. Bryan Edwards. With what scrupulous exactness the Spaniards attended to the reasonable request of this venerable cacique, let the following pages of this chapter determine.

which we cannot comprehend; and produce convictions in the mind, independently of the refined uses of our reasoning powers. It must have influenced the mind of this cacique, from whom Columbus received the address, in some such manner. His reasoning powers were not sufficiently expanded to trace the connexion which he admitted as fact; and the certainty of his conviction compels us to ascribe it to another cause. But unfortunately those rays of light which we discover, are only momentary gleams; which dazzle us with their radiancy, and then disappear. They afford us a transient brilliancy which we behold bursting through the horrors of savage obscurity, sufficient to render "darkness visible, and to discover sights of woe:" on every side we are encircled with shadows; we are encompassed with such darkness as may be felt.

It is true they admitted the being of a God, whom they named Jocahuna; but the unworthy notions which they annexed to this name, were truly preposterous, as we have already seen. Their religious worship, if their invocations of the zemi will bear that appellation, can hardly fail to draw the sigh of commiseration from the feeling heart, at the deplorable condition of human nature. And their views of a future state which they admitted in the abstract, will appear tinctured with the same shades; impregnated with the same sensuality; and conspire to shew in conjunction with their other perverted views, the abyss of mental darkness into which they were plunged.

Sensuality was their predominant vice; it was in general their companion through life; and in their religious creed they had transplanted it into another soil, to flourish beyond the grave. What their abstract notions of good and evil were, is a point not easy to be determined: a discharge of some of the relative duties of life, according to the scanty notions which they had received, constituted one considerable branch of their morality; and their uniform obedience to the injunctions of the zemi, and the commands of the cacique and bohito, gave completion to the circle of their obligations. Upon the discharge or neglect of these duties, their happiness or infelicities in a future state were to depend; from these sources they drew both their hopes and fears; and with these views they departed this life in full expectation of punishment or reward.

To the spirits of the good, they assigned some sensual felicities which bore a close resemblance to the enjoyments of the present life. They seemed to imagine that death would only make an alteration in the manner of their existence; but that their pleasures would arise from the same causes as in this world, convey the same sensations, and partake of the same common nature. The place which they assigned for the habitation of

the good, was a fertile vale, clothed with unfading verdure, and lodged in some deep recess to which their enemies could not approach. In this delightful region to which they had given the name of Coyaba, they expected to find those fruits and flowers, those cool recesses, and delicious retreats, provided for them, which nothing but their own imaginations could paint; and which paradise only could bestow. In this abode, so congenial to their wishes, they hoped to wander in indolence and ease; either on the margin of some flowing river, or by the side of some bubbling fountain, overshadowed by the canopy of Elysian foliage, and impervious to excessive droughts. In these tranquil residences, removed at an equal distance from domestic interruptions and elementary violence, they expected to revel in sensual voluptuousness, which nothing could destroy, and which could undergo no change.

But their enjoyments of an hereafter were not confined to sensual gratification. The social intercourse, the friendly conversation, the reciprocity of favours, and the interchange of thought; the company of their departed ancestors, and the smiles of those whom friendship had endeared in life, formed no inconsiderable part of those prospects, which presented themselves to their imaginations. It was in that region that they hoped more fully to discharge those filial obligations, which were but imperfectly accomplished in the present state; and to receive without deduction a full requital of those favours which were conferred without being cancelled here below. In short, they expected a new edition of the present life, revised and corrected beyond the grave; in which terrestrial felicity should be fully possessed without the least alloy.

To the wicked they denied the enjoyment of any of these privileges; and their miseries were to consist chiefly in a privation of bliss. They consigned them over to unwholesome annoyances, and to feel the effects of the warring elements; and doomed them to associate with spirits as degenerate as their own. But the regions of Coyaba they were not to enter; nor enjoy any of the felicities of its fertile vales. The solitary gloom, the violence of the hurricane, the roar of thunders, and the blasts of lightnings, were incessantly to terrify them, in a climate at once hostile to their natures, and inconceivably terrible to their apprehensions.

Such were the notions of these Indians of good and evil, and of rewards and punishments in another life. In their conceptions we behold a mixture of truth and error. The original principles appear to be the genuine impressions of divine Goodness, interpolated with the reveries of fancy, and overrun with error. Effaced through the native wickedness of the human

heart, and counteracted through the powers of darkness, the efficacy of divine grace disappears. Sometimes every vestige lies buried beneath a cloud of the most gross and obscene idolatry; and we discover nothing but that ignorance which sin has brought into the world. We behold in these cases the moral image of God totally defaced, and the glory of human nature becoming a prey to the most detestable absurdities. Sometimes the clouds will admit a momentary separation, and unveil to our astonished apprehensions, a gleam of light that dazzles with its brilliancy. But it soon closes again upon us; and we are obliged to grope our way through darkness, heathenism, superstition, and the dismal rites of pagan idolatry. Such was the condition of these poor Indians!

Of the number of the natives inhabiting the Leeward Islands, our accounts are various and diversified; but all agree that the larger islands were thickly peopled. Indeed their vast numbers seem to be a natural consequence of the tranquillity of their lives, and a natural effect of the soil and climate which Providence had connected with their abode. The bounties they possessed were equal to their simple wants, and left no temptation that could induce them to emigrate to another country.

Bartholomew Las Casas* who accepted the bishopric of Chiapa in Mexico, from principles of humanity towards the unfortunate natives of the New World, has stated the number of inhabitants of the Leeward Islands to amount to no less than *six millions*; "abounding with inhabitants (as he says) *as an anthill with ants.*" In the island of Hispaniola, to which we have

* "This disinterested man, (says Raynal) so famous in the annals of the New World, had accompanied his father in the first voyage of Columbus. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians struck him to such a degree, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attention."——"He felt more for the cruelties exercised against them than for their superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort the people to whom he was attached, or to soften their tyrants. This conduct which made him to be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the success he expected. The hope of keeping them in awe by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept of the bishopric of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an insufficient barrier against that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then that this courageous, firm, disinterested man cited his country to the tribunal of the whole universe. In his treatise on the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuses them of having destroyed *fifteen millions of Indians*. They attempted to find fault with the acrimony of his style, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his dispositions, and the sublimity of his sentiments, have branded his countrymen with a disgrace which time hath not and never will efface." (Abbé Raynal, History of the East and West Indies, vol. ii. b. vi. p. 295.)

confined our observations, Oviedo, a writer rather prejudiced against the Indian character, says there were about *one million of souls*. Peter Martyr, who drew his information from Columbus, says, they were about *one million two hundred thousand*. Raynal reckons them at *one million only*, and Bryan Edwards joins in opinion with Oviedo. All historians however agree, that their numbers were considerable; and the least computation which we have quoted, supposes the natives of the island of Hispaniola alone to amount to no less than one million. But to state with any exactness the numbers which covered the surface of such an extensive island, is really impossible. From the statements above given, we have however no just reason to suppose that we have been deceived on the whole. The number of the inhabitants in the different islands, was in proportion to their extent, thickly peopled, and blessed with peace, and all the affluence which they desired.

Such was the state, the number, and condition, of that people whose character and manners have been described; and such was their situation, when first the adventurous spirit of Columbus led the monsters of Castile to infest their peaceful shores. On this as well as on similar occasions, the Spanish historians are not unfrequently inconsistent with themselves. When attempting to emblazon their conquests, and to set forth the achievements of their warriors, and the prowess of their arms, they represent the New World which they had conquered, as filled with inhabitants, civilized, in a state of society, and rich and powerful. But when they are charged with the inhuman murders and unparalleled depredations which marked their footsteps, they invert the tale, and represent the country as a wild, inhospitable desert, inhabited by miserable savages, without government, and without laws, living in the practice of the most unnatural vices, and given up to almost every abomination. We have therefore followed neither account implicitly, but struck a medium between these two extremes. And having stated their conduct towards the Spaniards, we now proceed to describe the conduct of the Spaniards towards them, and the requitals which were made, when, through the inscrutable justice of God, their power enabled them to pursue their inclinations without disguise and without restraint.*

* Few things can offer to our observations a greater variety, than the diversity of modes which vice is capable of assuming: they are indeed so numerous, that the gradations from one extreme to the other, moving by imperceptible degrees, almost prevent us from marking their progress. There is a propensity in the human mind to survey with indifference the first deviations from rectitude. one action unfortunately becomes a precedent for

It has been observed in a preceding page of this chapter, that when Columbus departed from Hispaniola to convey the impor-

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another; and we suffer ourselves at length to be captivated with vices, which are the more dangerous when they are abstracted from their grossness. The extremes are nevertheless widely dissimilar. We perceive the contrast, when we make the comparison; but unhappily, while testifying our abhorrence of that which appears the most detestable, we forget that its rival partakes of the same nature; and thus we proceed, till we mistake vice for virtue. In no point perhaps will this delusion of the mind appear more conspicuous, than in noticing the contrariety which we perceive between the ferocity of the Charaibeans and the indolent tranquillity of the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands. That the former were cannibals, is sufficiently attested both by the inhabitants of the latter, and by the facts which occur in their own history. But we may hence infer, that of this vice the natives of Hispaniola were not guilty, especially as they mentioned the circumstance to Columbus with horror. It is probable that from beholding the latter as exempted from some of the prevailing traits in savage manners, we are tempted to view them in a more favourable light than truth will justify, and induced to give the colouring of virtue to that which is nothing but vice, either concealed by being varnished, or deprived of some of its deepest shades. The scriptures assure us that "all have sinned," and that "the carnal mind is enmity against God." We have therefore only to pull off the mask which vice assumes, to be convinced of this truth by discovering its native deformity.

The Mexicans, when Cortez first entered their territories, were represented as having emerged from savage darkness and barbarity; and their history at that time excited the astonishment of mankind. Yet among all their boasted perfections, few nations have been guilty of greater abominations. "The men (says Raynal) were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery, which shocks nature, and perverts animal instinct," (vol. ii. p. 268.) and the contempt with which they treated their women in consequence of this depravity, contributed in no small degree to overthrow the Mexican empire. In their system of idolatry they had some observances peculiar to themselves: "A slave was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a god, and concluded the scene by cutting his throat with great solemnity. Their prisoners of war were sacrificed in the temple of the god of battles; the priests afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted for some time, they took care to have it insinuated that the gods were hungry; and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners." (Raynal, vol. ii. p. 280.)

The natives of Otaheite, celebrated for their benevolent virtues, were represented to Europe on their first discovery in such glowing colours, that they were thought to be farther removed from the vices than from the dominions of the Old World. A nearer inspection of their character has however detected the fallacy, and placed them in a light which rather excites our abhorrence than commands our respect. Bougainville, who visited this island, describes the lasciviousness of its inhabitants in such terms as I dare not translate. This writer's having asserted that the inhabitants of Otaheite occasionally offered up human sacrifices, induced Captain Cook on one of his voyages to inquire into the fact; and the result was a confirmation of its truth. Captain Cook, in company with Captain Furneaux, and with a sailor who spoke the language, and some of the natives, visited one of their morias, and was personally assured that "they offered bad men to their eatooas or gods." On a subsequent voyage he attended one of these inhuman ceremonies at Attahooroo. The victim was slain before his arrival; he examined

tant intelligence of his discoveries to Europe, he left behind him a small detachment of men to protect that fort, which,

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the corpse, and found that he had been beaten to death. No crime however was assigned as the cause of his sufferings. He had been selected by the caprice of the priests, and murdered without ceremony or trial. Captain Cook found in this moria forty-nine skulls, none of which appeared to have been injured; which demonstrates that these sacrifices frequently happen. And it is more than probable that this horrid custom prevails in all the Pacific Islands. More recent observations have not only confirmed the preceding accounts, but have given to the national character of those Otaheitean savages, who were thought to be above the vices and infirmities of human nature, a still deeper shade. The missionaries who have been established among them, assert, that nearly one-third part of their infants were offered in sacrifices to their idols; and that the crime which brought fire from heaven on the cities of Sodom, was even authorized by law.

Of the Pellew Islands, we have no account but through the narrative of Captain Wilson. The inhabitants of these he represents in an amiable light. But much allowance must be made. He was received with unexpected humanity by savages in a moment of the utmost distress: gratitude therefore urged him to descant upon their compassion. Flattering however as the account of Captain Wilson is, he has noticed that they were much addicted to theft, and that they actually stole some of the iron which was necessary to the building of the vessel in which he afterwards sailed to Canton. And in addition to this, notwithstanding their humanity, they murdered those prisoners whom they took in war. An acquaintance with these islanders, similar to that which the missionaries have had with the Otaheiteans, would, it is more than probable, have developed many of those shades in their character, which deform that of the savages of America, and of the natives of the Pacific ocean.

The Leeward Islands present us with a race of human beings, whose passions were rather sensual than ferocious; who indulged in savage voluptuousness without invading the territories of the neighbouring tribes; and monopolized their national vices, without attempting to import new ones, or to impart their own to others. Mr. Edwards asserts that "an excessive sensuality was among the greatest defects in their character; and to this cause alone is imputed, by some writers, the origin of that dreadful disease, with the infliction of which they have almost revenged the calamities brought upon them by the avarice of Europe." Vol. i. p. 76. To what extent these excesses were carried, we have no means of knowing with accuracy; it is much to be feared that they were not confined within the bounds of natural criminality; but of this we have no direct evidence. Neither was the humanity which Columbus experienced, of universal application. Peter Martyr has observed "that on the death of a cacique, the most beloved of his wives were immolated at his funeral. On the grossness of their idolatry it is needless to expatiate; their religious rites afford us a melancholy lesson of the barbarism into which human nature sinks, when deprived of the genial light of the Sun of righteousness, as displayed by the gospel to all that cordially embrace it. Nor is the scene much brightened, when, without revelation, the mind is illuminated by science. Mr. Edwards justly observes, when comparing their idolatry with that of Greece and Rome,—"So nearly allied, in religious researches, is the blindness of uncultivated nature to the insufficiency of mere cultivated reason."

If then sensuality, and that too of the grossest nature, is a vice, must we not conclude, notwithstanding their compassion and hospitality, that the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands afford us an awful comment on those scrip-

through the assistance of the natives, he had been enabled to raise; and that, on his return, he found his soldiers had been all massacred, and his fort utterly demolished.

The men who accompanied him on his second voyage to the New World, were clamorous for instant revenge. But Columbus, who had the address to overcome these instant sallies of resentment, advised them to postpone their vengeance to a more favourable moment; because he was fully convinced that the murdered Spaniards had been the aggressors, and had only been treated with that summary justice, which might naturally be expected from an enraged Indian tribe.

These civilized robbers therefore spent their time in exploring the country; in scrutinizing the mines of gold; in endeavouring to obtain every necessary information; in erecting forts, and distributing their forces in such directions as might best protect their labours, or enable them to act towards the natives as occasional circumstances might dictate. But while they were thus employed in feeding on their golden dream, they discovered among themselves a calamity of a most serious nature. The provisions which they had brought with them from Europe, had felt the powerful influence of the climate, and were either completely spoiled, or so far damaged as to be rendered useless. And those husbandmen who had been sent from Spain for the purpose of raising such vegetables for an instant supply as the country promised to favour, were either dead, or so disabled through sickness, as to be unable to accomplish the task for which they embarked.

In this situation there was no choice but to desire the soldiers to supply their place. But the age of chivalry was not yet gone. Indolence was, at that time, an honourable distinction in Spain. And unfortunately, to do nothing was the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman. Even the common soldiers felt this

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tures which speak of the total and universal depravity of mankind? And if neither the natives of South America, of Otaheite, of the Pellew Islands, nor of Hispaniola, the only portions of the globe which stand as candidates for an exemption, can claim any immunity, must we not conclude that the whole world stands guilty before God?

We are not however to conclude from hence that the guilt of Hispaniola can either justify or palliate the enormities of Spain. Though God makes evil subservient to his purposes, he is not its author; neither are those who practise such enormities, either exonerated from the charge of guilt or the justice of punishment. For the idolatries, licentiousness, and inhumanities of the western world, God might have seen fit to punish its inhabitants; and the wickedness of the Spaniards, originating in different motives, and directed by different counsels, might have been the rod of his anger. Were it not for the bloody deeds of the invaders, the pestilence or the earthquake might have accomplished the work of the sword, and Spain in some other quarter of the globe might have filled up the measure of its guilt.

lazy ambition, and disdained an employment upon which their lives depended. In these circumstances they applied to the natives. The poor Indians offered them all they had, but their new friends wanted more. The natives were constantly at work to supply their real and artificial wants; but avarice and gluttony were not soon to be cloyed. They were constantly teazing them with a repetition of the same request; they were continually in want of provisions and gold.

The natives wearied with such unceasing importunity, soon grew weary in exerting themselves for strangers, whose wants seemed to increase in proportion to the supplies which they received. A relaxation in their laborious efforts soon followed that indifference which the ungrateful Spaniards had produced by their perpetual solicitude. From remissness the natives proceeded to negligence; and would no longer work to supply the wants of those men who were above using any exertions to supply themselves. But this conduct only tended to irritate the soldiers, who now considered the Indians as in a state of actual rebellion; and that as their behaviour was criminal, to punish them was both necessary and just.

Columbus, who had been absent while these things were transacting, finding that affairs wore a serious aspect in the island, returned from prosecuting his discoveries, in hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between the parties; of adjusting their differences, and of bringing all their contentions to an amicable issue. On his arrival, he found that the Indians were highly exasperated with the treatment which they had received; while the soldiers, mutinous and ungovernable, breathed nothing but carnage.

Affairs now assumed a most awful appearance. Both parties were highly enraged; and reconciliation could only be obtained upon such terms as had already made the Indians withdraw, and to which they would not consent to submit. The clamours of a fierce and rapacious soldiery, who now thirsted for Indian blood, soon overpowered the peaceable disposition of Columbus, and obliged him to have recourse to arms, though against his better judgment, both as a politician and a man.

The Spanish army consisted of about 200 foot, and 20 horse. These were drawn up in proper order, and had to attack an army of Indians, said to consist of *one hundred thousand men*. Thus far however it was military parade, without its fatal consequences. The unfortunate Indians were conquered before the engagement began; they were seized with a panic, and rendered incapable of making any resistance. They looked upon the Spaniards as a superior race of beings, and soon fell victims to the mingled emotions of astonishment and fear.

The European armour, the glittering of the arms of which they had occasionally seen the power, and the cannon which now opened their horrid mouths towards them, shot such terror through their souls as they were unable to overcome.

But the sight of the Spanish horse, completely equipped, became absolutely irresistible; they were amazed at such an uncommon appearance beyond all conception; and many of them were simple enough to believe, that the man and horse were only one animal, made perhaps on purpose for war; and capable of performing exploits which their fears had magnified beyond all calculation. There were others among them who carried these extravagant notions still higher, and supposed that the man and horse was a kind of deity actually become visible, and which had now descended from the skies, to protect those favourites of Heaven from the calamities of war. Terrified beyond all conception with these appearances, and their own apprehensions, they fled in all directions. They demanded peace, and were willing to submit upon almost any terms. This surrender was accepted by their enemies, upon condition that they should cultivate their own lands for the Spaniards, and furnish them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

By this surrender they averted for the moment the calamities which awaited them; but it was only to reserve them for a more ignominious fate. But even admitting that they had made the utmost resistance in their power, they could not have withstood the cannonading, musketry, and military tactics of the Spanish soldiers, notwithstanding the immensity of their army. Without order, without discipline, and almost without arms, their vast numbers would only have increased the carnage, without adding to the annoyance of that enemy whom they at once reverenced, hated, and feared.

The terms upon which the natives surrendered, soon however became uneasy and irksome. They groaned under a burden which had been imposed upon them by strangers, and to which they had been obliged reluctantly to accede, in order to preserve their lives. Conditions of peace which are received from the point of the bayonet, are always severe, and rarely productive either of those benefits to the conqueror, or that tranquillity to the conquered, which both parties promise themselves when they ratify the unnatural treaty. This at least was the case with the Spaniards and the natives of Hispaniola.

Unaccustomed as they had been to the labours which were connected with their new servitude, they soon felt it a weight which they were unable to support, and were obliged to abandon that treaty, to the terms of which they had only submitted through force. Considered by the Spaniards as a captive peo-

ple, they were treated like slaves; and the conditions of their surrender, hard in themselves, and aggravated by cruelties which arose from domestic sources, made their sufferings become insupportable. They abandoned their new masters to avoid these calamities; and quitting the fertile savannas, they took refuge in the inaccessible and mountainous parts. In these lofty regions they hoped to find a scanty subsistence, by hunting such beasts as they might find, and gathering such wild fruits and vegetables as their new habitations might afford. They fully expected that the Spaniards, finding their provisions cut off, would only ravage the country for a season, take such articles as they chiefly valued, and then repass the seas to that distant country from whence they came.

But in these expectations the unhappy natives were dreadfully disappointed. A monster had infested their shores, compounded of avarice and cruelty, which neither their strength nor policy could destroy. The hope of gold had taken possession of the hearts of their invaders, and the natives were unable to resist their claims. Both parts of this monster were likely to find food, though that for the man was not easily attainable: the former might plunge itself into the mines of wealth; and the latter might revel in human blood.

The Spaniards supported themselves by the supplies which they received from Europe, and pursued their plan of murdering the Indians with the most unrelenting assiduity. They trained their dogs to hunt them on the mountains and inaccessible heights to which they had retired, and fed them on their flesh to make them the more ferocious. They called in the enthusiasm of bigotry to give nerves to their horrid purposes, and even prostituted the venerable name of religion to add sanction to their inhuman deeds.

Those who had the good or bad fortune, I know not which to call it, to escape the blood-hound and the sword, were obliged to submit to the will of the European savage, who exercised his power without feeling, without pity, and without remorse. They were condemned to labour in the mines with unremitting application, and were hardly allowed an interval to lose sight of their woes in the forgetfulness of sleep, or to recruit their sinking spirits by an intermission of their sufferings. They were goaded onward from day to day, till death, who discharges the wretched from their miseries here below, put an end to their deplorable condition by affording them a refuge in his cold embrace. Such as attempted to escape from this horrible situation, were pursued with those dogs which had previously hunted them, and which now acted as sentinels over them; and to

which they were given to be devoured as a reward of their sagacity and attention.

In the prosecution of these excesses, which perhaps stand unrivalled in the black catalogue of human enormities, the Spaniards were now delivered from all restraint. Columbus, who had acted as a check upon their inhuman violence, had returned to Spain to lay before the court a statement of the cruelties which had been practised upon the natives before his departure, but which now broke out in his absence with redoubled violence.

During his visit to Spain, the command of the colony devolved on his brother; but it was torn by lawless factions, by animosities, by dissentions and mutinies. Anarchy and discord divided the government, and took possession of regal power; but barbarity towards the natives was never forgotten. No orders, during this reign of anarchy, were obeyed, unless some cacique was to be dethroned, some horde of Indians to be pillaged, some village to be destroyed, or some nation to be extirpated. To cut the throats of the natives was to entitle the murderers to the treasures which they could plunder. The former was the labour, and the latter was the reward. Murder and pillage went hand in hand; they did not strive for mastery, but acted as partners in these scenes of blood and fire. No sooner had these detestable soldiers exterminated one tribe, and secured such gold as they could find, than they renewed their disturbances with another. In these general depredations they spared neither sex nor age. Humanity had forsaken their bosoms, and they were even intoxicated with human blood. Revenge itself seemed gorged with slaughter, and almost fell asleep; but cruelty not only remained deaf to the dying groans of suffering humanity, but became sportive amid the pangs which it occasioned.

To murder the natives in cold blood, and even when no previous provocation prompted them to the deed, was deemed a portion of genteel exercise. It was nearly allied to the conduct of the sportsman; only where the latter would take the life of a blackbird, the former would take that of a man. They emulated each other in their arts of barbarous dexterity, and wagers were frequently made upon the strokes of the sabre which administered death. To strike off the head of an Indian at one blow, was an act of expertness which frequently produced a rival, and wagers depended upon the cleanness of the stroke. The spectators who were called to witness these transactions, acted as umpires on the occasion, and adjudged the prize to him who appeared to be best skilled in the science of unrelenting cruelty. And even when the prospect of reaping

the advantage of their infernal dexterity did not impel the deed, the natives were murdered from mere wantonness and sport, by way of practice, that they might keep their hands in use.

But barbarity was not only sportive, but it pretended also to piety; and the Spaniards under the influence of frantic bigotry, had the impious insolence to lift their hands in devotion towards heaven, while they were warm and reeking with their brothers' blood. The order of nature appeared to be inverted with them; these men were transformed into monsters, more savage and ferocious than the wolves which prowl the desert; and their hands were embrued in the murder of victims which they impiously offered in sacrifice to God. In the midst of this blasphemous reverence and detestable devotion, there were some who made an impious vow to God, to burn or hang thirteen Indians every morning for a given time, as a token of devotional gratitude to God. And they selected that number in particular as an honorary compliment to the Lord Jesus Christ and his twelve apostles. There were others actuated by a species of fanatical rage, not less abominable, nor perhaps less cruel. The miserable captives whom they had seized, with the assistance of blood-hounds, not more ferocious than themselves, they sometimes forced into the water, to receive the rite of baptism, and concluded the ceremony with cutting their throats to prevent their apostacy from that religion, into which they had been so cruelly initiated.

But the desire of independency operating upon the difficulty of making an equal distribution of the plunder which they had so infamously acquired, had nearly defeated the purposes which avarice had planned. Among a set of men who were equally covetous, and equally abandoned, it is not to be expected that authority should be long regarded. The increase of rapine and plunder increased the anarchy which pervaded the hearts of the invaders, and diffused its poison through every rank. The subalterns paid little or no regard to their commanders, and the commanders in their turn paid little or no regard either to justice, or the laws by which they professed to be governed. Step led on to step, and evil succeeded to evil, till at length war broke out among themselves. But while the Spaniards were thus destroying one another, the Indians enjoyed a momentary respite. They were frequently spectators of the bloody scenes which intestine war produced, and occasionally bore a part in them, as the influence of the parties engaged could induce them to join the banditti that prevailed.

The main body of Indians profiting by the momentary exemptions from murder, which the quarrels of the Spaniards

had afforded them, began to assume a small degree of courage. They had penetration enough to discover that such bloody scenes as they beheld among their enemies, might soon end in their total extirpation. They considered that it could not be impracticable even to destroy a small number of tyrants, who appeared to have lost sight of their primary object, and who aimed at nothing but the gratification of private but implacable animosities, which had originated in the distribution of that treasure which they had previously plundered from the natives whom they had already murdered.

With these scenes before them, and under impressions which arose from these views, they entered into a confederacy, which they contrived to manage with much dexterity, and which had acquired no inconsiderable strength. Their design was to commence an attack upon the Spaniards who were killing one another, and to cut them entirely off. Their confederacy had become formidable, and was on the eve of being carried into execution, when Columbus returned from Europe, where he had represented their case. This event put an end to their project, and not long afterward the disgrace of Columbus put a conclusion to all their hopes.

The redress of grievances which Columbus obtained from the court of Spain, only reduced cruelty and oppression into a system, and protracted the miseries which the natives were doomed to undergo. They were still condemned to endure the drudgeries of labour to which they had been previously destined in the cultivation of the lands; while some were obliged to groan out a miserable existence in the mines, to procure gold. Those who were denominated *free*, were obliged to pay the most exorbitant fines, such as the will of their conquerors thought proper to exact. But they were still permitted to live in their own clans, after the manner of their country, and to be subject to the government and laws of their own caciques.

But these indulgencies, as well as the power of Columbus, were drawing to a close. The successes of Columbus abroad, had raised him a host of enemies at home. They envied the honours which he had so justly acquired, and concerted measures for his ruin and disgrace. Bovadilla, whose ambition and injustice have been rarely exceeded in the New World, was sent out as an arbitrator between Columbus and his soldiers, against whose conduct the admiral had been lodging complaints in Spain. With Bovadilla every consideration gave way to gold. He sided with the rapacious soldiery; seized Columbus; put him in irons; and sent him off as a criminal to Spain. The Spaniards had nothing now to restrain their rapacity; they had

obtained a kind of sanction to their crimes; and carnage, devastation, and plunder went hand in hand.

On the last arrival of Columbus from Europe, he had unfortunately brought with him more men of the same unprincipled dispositions; and the plunderers of the natives obtained through that medium a new acquisition of strength. These marauders, by uniting their forces, were enabled to act new scenes of barbarity, and even to increase those villanies, against which Columbus had been obliged to repair to Europe to complain. But the power of Columbus was now no more. The soldiers and their commanders acted from one general impulse; and cruelty and licentiousness had nothing more to fear.

In this situation the affairs of Hispaniola continued with but little variation till 1506, when Ferdinand was petitioned to make a distribution of all the natives among the conquerors, that they might be enabled to render them more effective in working the mines, and more serviceable to their masters in any department of labour that inhumanity might think proper to impose.

To secure the success of this plan, both religion and policy were used as engines, and by their co-operation they produced the fatal measure. It was observed in behalf of religion, that so long as the natives were tolerated in their idolatrous superstitions, they would never embrace the doctrines of Christianity; but that as this distribution of them would deprive them of an opportunity of worshipping idols, so it would place them more immediately under the care of their masters, who would be enabled to give them that necessary instruction which their case required! In behalf of policy it was urged, that while these Indians continued to live in hordes, agreeably to the customs of their ancestors, they would be meditating revolts from their tributary state; that they would keep the Spaniards in perpetual alarm, and create an unceasing expense to government to establish soldiers to prevent their incursions, and to protect the Spaniards and their Indian slaves; that in process of time they might obtain a better acquaintance with arts and arms than they had at present, and might be able to make a much stouter resistance than they now were capable of making; and that consequently the petition was humane, as well as politic and just, and might prevent the effusion of much human blood.

Ferdinand, having nothing to oppose to such weighty reasonings, tamely approved of the proposal; and by granting the request of his petitioners, unhappily signed the fate of those unfortunate Indians, who were now consigned over to miseries from which there could be no appeal. The crimes which had been but individual before, now became national; and Ferdi-

nand, by this act, rendered himself amenable for all the blood that was afterwards so wantonly spilled. The accusations of inhumanity, which had hitherto been chargeable on mercenary and unprincipled individuals, now became chargeable on the government of a vast territory; and that government stands to the present day loaded with all the infamy which can arise from the toleration of crimes at which our feelings shudder when we consider them. They are barbarities on which we cannot, even at this distant period, reflect, without feeling the blush of conscious guilt, though arising only from our distant consanguinity, by being of the same common species with the perpetrators of such horrid deeds.

No sooner was this petition granted, than the whole island was immediately divided into a great number of districts; and each district, with its native inhabitants, was viewed in no other light than as a distinct branch of one common property. Birth, rank, interest, influence, and all the family of corruption, now united in the general scramble for some share in the plunder of Hispaniola. The natives both of Castile and Arragon were alike permitted to advance their claims to some share in the new territory; and they had indiscriminately allotted to them, a larger or smaller part in proportion to the interest they could make.

From the instant that the island was thus parcelled out, the native Indians of each district became the sole property of their new proprietors. From that moment they were either their slaves or victims, and their lives and labour lay at the caprice of an individual in whose bosom pity and compassion were alike unknown. And strange as it may appear, notwithstanding the devastations which this detestable policy occasioned, the same inhuman arrangements were afterwards made in all the settlements of the New World, after the arms of Cortez and others had added the southern continent of America to the dominions of Spain.

By these arrangements in the island of Hispaniola, the revenues arising from the mines to the crown of Spain, became fixed, and less liable to the innovations of uncertainty. In the first settlement the king claimed one-half of all the gold that was obtained; it was afterwards reduced to one-third; and in process of time, as the expenses of working the mines became more burdensome, the revenue was established at one-fifth part. All besides became the property of the proprietor of the district, who from that circumstance increased his wealth in proportion as he oppressed the natives.

The influx of riches which marked the progress of early years, and flowed from Hispaniola into Old Spain, created a

new race of adventurers; and speculative men engaged in an undertaking by which they saw others enriched. The magic of this golden dream filled the heads of those who had not courage enough to cross the vast Atlantic; even placemen and pensioners became candidates for foreign wealth. The grandees of Spain who filled places of trust under government, obtained grants from the crown, by which they acquired wealth without the trouble of procuring it. They committed the oversight of their districts to the management of inferior agents, who always took care to acquire fortunes for themselves, while they enriched the principals by whom they were employed. Under these accumulating evils it is easy to conceive that the condition of the unhappy natives must have been wretched indeed. The claims of the crown, the claims of the principal, the exactions of the inferior agents, and the expenses of all, were to be extorted from them by incessant labour to which they had not been accustomed, and for which their constitutions were not adapted. Their blood, and sweat, and toil, must procure all. They were doomed to waste their lives in the rigorous servitude of strangers, whom they had always treated with the rights of hospitality, but who in return had taken away their lands, and doomed them to labours which could only be terminated by death.

From the instances of cruelty which we have seen, and from those which necessarily arose from the circumstances of their condition, an augmentation of their calamities would seem absolutely impossible. But in this also we are unhappily deceived. Their sufferings increased as their tyrants multiplied; and language itself would be exhausted in attempting to describe the horrors which these unoffending people were doomed to bear. Sometimes they were indiscriminately chained together like beasts, and obliged in that condition to work for their iron-hearted masters. Those, who, fatigued with their sufferings, sunk beneath the pressure of their burdens, were beaten on the ground, and compelled either to rise or expire under the blows which they received. Their death was deemed of no consequence; the country swarmed with inhabitants; and it was attended with less trouble to seize another Indian, than it was to fell a tree. The Spaniards and their blood-hounds were in partnership together; both joined in seizing the Indian; the Spaniard soon killed him with labour, and his body became the property of the dog.

The extirpation of the natives seemed to be an object at which they aimed. The sexes were separated from each other, and all intercourse between them was forbidden. The men were condemned to labour and to perish in the mines; and the women frequently expired in the fields, which they were obliged to cul-

tivate with their feeble hands. Neither groans, nor tears, nor the tenderest calls of nature, could move the unfeeling Spaniard, or soften the bigotted barbarian in the least degree. The constitutions of their female Indians, weak and delicate by nature, were still further impaired by the unwholesome and scanty diet which the Spaniards allowed. Their provisions were dealt out to them in particles, and delivered in such stinted quantities, as seemed better calculated to protract existence, and to lengthen misery, than to enable them to live. The mothers frequently expired under the joint pressure of hunger and fatigue, pressing in the agonies of death their dead or dying infants to their breasts, shrivelled and contracted for want of a proper supply of milk.

Sometimes the women were bound to the trees; and their helpless infants who were unable to walk, were placed on the ground before them, at a little distance from their reach, that the unhappy mothers might hear their cries, and behold their pangs, and trace their sufferings through each intermediate stage, till the last gasp should terminate in death. The sufferings of these helpless infants were but preludes to their own. The cries of nature which hunger had extorted from their infants, they had been doomed to hear in all the frantic agonies of affectionate mothers, without being able to afford the little sufferers any relief, though they writhed in pain, and lay on the ground just at their feet. They had seen their infants expire, and were now to tread the same melancholy path. Neither sustenance nor release was to afford them any relief; their countrymen, awaiting the same or similar treatment, were unable to render them any assistance; and they were destined to die at the foot of the tree to which they had been bound.

The fathers and husbands of these unhappy children and women who were occasionally spectators of these cruelties, sometimes poisoned themselves as opportunity offered, and sometimes hung themselves on those very trees, at the feet of which they had seen their wives and children expire. Resistance was useless, and escape was impossible: to be in the possession of the Spaniards was but a prelude to approaching death; and they fled to his cold embrace, to avoid those painful steps which the objects of their dearest affection had been obliged to tread. From these and similar barbarities, it is natural to conclude that their numbers must have rapidly diminished, which really was the case.

In 1492, when Columbus first discovered Hispaniola, we have stated the total number of its inhabitants, upon a very moderate computation, at *one million two hundred thousand.* In the year 1511, only 14 years after the first discovery of this flourish-

ing island, its total number was reduced, according to the statement of Raynal, to *fourteen thousand.* Within 29 years from this period, they were brought down to *five hundred,* according to the statement of Oviedo. And in the year 1585, when Sir Francis Drake made a descent on this island, he says that not a single native was alive. In what year they were exterminated, it is impossible to say; but judging from the rapid carnage which was made in the earlier years, we have but little reason to believe that any of the natives were alive much after the period to which Oviedo refers, when he states their numbers to amount to no more than five hundred.

Admitting the statement of Martyr to be correct, who estimates the original number at one million two hundred thousand; and allowing the subsequent account of the Abbé Raynal, which reckons the natives about nineteen years posterior to the first visit of Columbus at only fourteen thousand, it will appear evident beyond all dispute, that the Spaniards must have destroyed annually about eighty thousand, during the space of nineteen years. Such was the horrid scene of devastation which Hispaniola was obliged to exhibit to the world, almost as soon as it was visited by the Europeans!

But cruelty and avarice, which both conspired to destroy the natives, aimed at different ends. The inordinate indulgence of cruelty was the defeat of avarice, and the murder of the natives laid an embargo on the gold. The distant continent was ransacked, and the neighbouring islands were visited, to be plundered of their people. The inhabitants of these countries were conducted to the mines of St. Domingo, to expire as slaves, in the same manner as the unhappy natives had expired before. Their condition was destined to open a new scene of horror, to mark the character of the invaders with new stains, and to die the earth of Hispaniola with new torrents of human blood.

The natives of Hispaniola being greatly reduced, through wanton murder, through unheard-of cruelties, through oppressive labour, through hunger, through avarice, through superstition, and through frantic bigotry, it became impossible for the private proprietors of the island to carry on the mines. Barbarity having thus defeated the designs of avarice, the possessors of the districts were obliged to have recourse to their old expedient. They represented the situation of the mines and the prospect of advantage in such a favourable light to the king of Spain, that humanity was forgotten amid the pernicious glitter of destructive gold. The lives which had been lost, the blood which had been spilled, the inhumanities which had been practised, and all the outrages which had been committed upon

human nature, were totally unnoticed by the court of Spain. The wealth which still appeared in perspective, bore down every other consideration, and trampled humanity and honour in the dust.

The king of Spain, regardless of justice, and lost to every generous sensibility of human nature, attended to the petitions which were presented for his sanction, and became an accomplice in that guilt which was about to result from the crimes which he and his subjects had agreed to perpetrate. In complying with the petitions which were set before him, he gave permission to the proprietors of Hispaniola to ransack the neighbouring islands and the more contiguous shores of the adjacent continent, to seize on the unsuspecting natives, and conduct them by violence to labour and to perish in the fatal mines of that destructive island.

This barbarous mode of policy opened a new scene of devastation, and the unhappy natives of distant islands were doomed to perish through the detestable union of treachery and inhumanity; the effects of which are thus detailed by Dr. Robertson in his History of America: "Several vessels (says he) were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to invite them thither, to partake of the bliss which they enjoyed. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity to a tale so congenial to their natures, and apparently so full of filial piety; and fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice, above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men."

What the feelings of these unhappy people were when they first landed on the fatal island which was destined to be their grave, is not within the powers of language fully to describe. Perhaps no expressions can delineate their sensations with greater accuracy and precision, than the following quotation which is extracted from Peter Martyr. In speaking of the decoyed inhabitants of the Lucayos in particular, he makes the following observations: "Many of them in the anguish of despair, obstinately refuse all manner of sustenance, and retiring to desert caves, and unfrequented woods, silently give up the ghost: others repairing to the sea-coast on the northern side of Hispaniola, cast many a longing look towards that part of the ocean where they suppose their own islands to be situated;

and as the sea-breeze rises, eagerly inhale it; fondly believing that it has lately visited their own happy valleys, and comes fraught with the breath of those they love,—their wives and children. With this idea they continue for hours on the coast, until nature becomes utterly exhausted; when stretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if to take a last embrace of their distant country and relations, they sink down and expire without a groan.

"One of the Lucayos, who was more desirous of life, or had greater courage than most of his countrymen, took upon him a bold and difficult piece of work. Having been accustomed to build cottages in his own country, he procured instruments of stone, and cut down a large spongy tree, called jaruma, (*i. e.* the bombax or wild cotton) the body of which he dexterously scooped into a canoe. He then provided himself with oars, some Indian corn, and a few gourds of water, and prevailed on another man and woman to embark with him on a voyage to the Lucayos Islands. The navigation was prosperous for nearly 200 miles, and they were almost within sight of their long lost shores, when they were met by a Spanish ship, which brought them back to slavery and sorrow. The canoe is still preserved in Hispaniola as a singular curiosity, considering the circumstances under which it was made."

But it is high time to quit these gloomy and horrible details, in which we discover nothing but what confers disgrace upon Europe, notwithstanding all its boasted arts and pretences to refinement and civilization. They are scenes which mark the earlier settlers of the West India Islands with stains which never can be effaced; and which must hand down the Spanish name with infamy and detestation to the latest generations of the world. They are scenes which will display to millions who are yet unborn, the fatal effects of power when uncontrouled by the principles of eternal justice. And at the same time they will fully shew the pernicious consequences which result from blind superstition and fanatical bigotry, when acting under the influence of lawless and intemperate zeal.

Bad as human nature is abstractedly from grace, the report of these enormities is too bold in its relation to claim an immediate assent. But unhappily, our attempts to falsify the facts would ensure to the mind that conviction which it wishes to shun. The evidence is too strong for resistance, and too explicit to afford any shelter in incredulity. The more we inquire into the authenticity of those facts which seem too enormous to be believed, the more conspicuous will they appear: the mind of him whose eye glances over them, and then commences its inquiries to quell those doubts which the recital of them may

have raised, will find proofs where it expected a refutation, and will sink under the weight of conviction where humanity would induce it to expect relief.

When that madness which now actuates the empires of the world, subsides in future years, and peace and brotherly love overspread the globe, the records of ancient days will perhaps be deemed little better than romance. Then that guilty nation, whose bloody enormities we have been reciting, may embrace some opportunity of acknowledging with heart-felt compunction those detestable crimes, which in the eyes of every other nation now disgrace her name. But even in the case which we contemplate, her atrocities will still lie against her, and all she can hope is that they may be rather forgotten than erased.

The light of the gospel diffusing itself through the habitable world, instructs us in concert with express revelation, to expect those important changes, which through divine grace will effectually ameliorate the condition, and subdue the unholy passions of man. Then those annals which record her days of blood, sinking beneath the weight of the wanton miseries which they have preserved, may fall into disrepute, and the Spanish nation escape the indignation of mankind through those incredible excesses which will appear too monstrous to obtain belief.

But whether these crimes shall be remembered or forgotten by man, are points of distant and trifling consideration. One truth is certain; and that is, that they will not be forgotten by God. With him there can be neither "variableness, nor shadow of turning." The actions of men can admit of no concealment; and to exaggerate them, there can be no occasion. Nothing can escape the notice of the Almighty, either through an inability to comprehend, or through the lapse of time. The period therefore must arrive, in which that justice shall be administered and become conspicuous, which we now in many cases inquire for in vain.

Why God who is infinitely powerful, and infinitely just, should suffer such enormities to pass through time without marking the delinquents with some signal vengeance, is what we cannot comprehend, any more than we can assign reasons why he should suffer the wretched Indians to fall by such inhuman butcheries as exterminated them from the face of the earth. But since nothing can take place without his appointment or permission, and he is infinite goodness and perfection; since nothing can elude his observation, or escape his knowledge; his ways must necessarily be equal. And since the justice of his proceedings is not fully conspicuous in this life, we may rest ourselves assured that it will be more completely unfolded in another.

With these views before us of the Divine equity, we must refer those mysterious dispensations which he suffers to exist, to a day of retribution, in which both the righteous and the wicked shall meet their respective rewards. The calamities which we have just beheld in the unfortunate island of Hispaniola, are such as our limited capacities cannot comprehend. We therefore conclude that the present life forms but a small portion of human existence; and that the barrier must be broken down which divides us from an eternal state, before we can survey those scenes which are necessary to mature our judgments on so abstruse a point.

But if these subjects are beyond the utmost stretch of our finite powers, the difficulties will increase in proportion as we extend our views. If we quit for a moment the cruelties of the island to survey the devastations of the continent, our surprise will be lengthened into astonishment, and we shall sink overwhelmed with our own contemplations. If we traverse Peru and Mexico, and follow Cortez and his cotemporaries through those acts of rapine and depredation which marked their progress with blood in these devoted countries, the scene of cruelty and destruction seems to run through interminable distances, and the mind is fatigued in moving over the desolated tract.

Accounts differ as to the extent of the murders which were committed. Some estimate the massacres at no less than *fifteen millions* of human beings; others sink them so low as *ten millions;* and others reckon according to the intermediate numbers. But taking the statement in any of the given numbers, the case will appear almost equally difficult of solution; we look around us for relief in vain, but the mind finds at last safe anchorage in eternity.

Every thing conspires to direct our views beyond the grave; it is only there that the mind can find an asylum, in which it can repose itself with assurance, without feeling the uneasiness of disturbance or alarm. And such is the confidence which the above details of human miseries suggest, that we cannot avoid concluding, *that the evidences which support us in believing the being of a God, will also support us in believing the certainty of a future state. There are proofs in both cases, which are not easily resisted; and the truths which they support, must stand or fall together.*

CHAP. III.

Natives of the Charaibean or Windward Islands—origin—persons—natural dispositions—warfare and modes of life—religious views—confused notions of the being of God—and of a future state of rewards and punishments—reflections on the whole.

IN the preceding chapter we have given some account of the natives of the Leeward Islands, and made some observations on their origin, their numbers, their manners, and their whole history. An investigation of the Charaibean character now rises before us, and claims our attention, as proceeding from a distinct race of men.

There are perhaps but few cases in the history of man, in which a contrast can be more striking, than that which will result from a comparison between them and the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands. In their persons and manners, the contrast appears conspicuous; their natural dispositions and prevailing propensities will confirm the observations which we make, and the religious rites, (if such they may be termed,) which are observable among them, respectively, will plainly prove that the natives of the Leeward and of the Windward Islands sprung from different countries. The progress of time may cause men, not radically different, to exhibit appearances which show that they have but little affinity to each other; and that though springing from the same fountain, they have been separated from each other through a number of ages, which having shut up all intercourse between them, have obliterated those common marks by which alone we can trace a common relation.

But on these points, as well as on the solitary mode of life which is so observable among the Charaibees, the reader must make his own reflections. Effects, which are in themselves so distant and various, can originate only in propensities which are widely different; and consequently such strange diversities as we are called upon to perceive, must claim such distant origins, in a *local* view, as we are obliged to assign, and which can have but a very remote communication with one another.

But simple distance, either in time or situation, is not of itself sufficient to produce those opposite effects, which offer themselves to our notice. Some *extraneous* cause or causes must have conspired to call into existence those variations, which we cannot fail to behold. What these *extraneous* causes are, in

their physical nature, which have been capable, in their operations, of producing such a visible difference between man and man, though we may attempt to conjecture, perhaps we shall never be able here below fully to understand. The fact is nevertheless incontrovertible; it is demonstrated by daily observation in every part of our intercourse with mankind; but in no portion of human history can it appear more conspicuous, than in the distant characters of the Charaibees and the natives of the Leeward Islands.

But though we admit those striking differences which we cannot avoid contemplating, it will not at all follow that men are physically unlike. There are radical principles which are too permanently fixed in man, for time or adventitious circumstances to alter. Men may undergo an infinite variety of changes, but in every condition they are physically the same. The variations which we perceive, must have resulted from some secret causes, operating upon the established principles of human nature by slow and imperceptible degrees, through the long lapse of ages, which have rolled on from the primary separation of mankind to the given hour.

A variation in climate will, without all doubt, produce considerable effects; and the influence of custom will tend to confirm habits so acquired, with a permanency which neither reason nor philosophy is able to subdue. But how far either climate or custom may have tended to produce that visible difference which is so evident between the natives of the Windward and Leeward Islands, is a point extremely difficult to be determined. We must therefore attribute the ferocious and warlike spirit of the Charaibees to the ascendency of some cause which we have not been able fully to explore, and which, matured into habit, cannot easily be erased.

Of the primary origin of this fierce race of men, the accounts which we have are various, and far from being satisfactory. A train of circumstances will oblige us to allow, that these natives of the Windward Islands obtained their insular situation by emigrating from the continental shores of South America; and beyond the proofs of this point, our knowledge of their origin will hardly permit us to pass. But these evidences which circumstances afford us, do not reach the original question. That these islands were first peopled from the southern continent of America, but little doubt can remain; but from what portion of the globe they migrated, before they found this continental abode, is a point which no positive proof can now determine.

The origin of a savage people, without records, without government, without laws, and without arts, must necessarily be

wrapped up in obscurities; and but few circumstances can be found in such an unproductive soil, through which any analogy can be traced between them and any other people who inhabit the different nations of the earth. Engaged as the Charaibees seem almost constantly to have been in depredations and plunder, the reports of tradition which might have been derived from their remotest ancestors, are totally obliterated; and hardly a vestige now remains through which their *primary* origin can be traced.

We have said in the beginning of this work that the vast chain of West India islands was divided into two classes, generally denominated the Windward and Leeward Islands. The Windward Islands of which we now speak, were inhabited by a restless, warlike, and barbarous race, while the Leeward Islands were peopled with a mild and inoffensive tribe. It was from this mild and inoffensive people, that Columbus first obtained intelligence of the Charaibees. They were represented by the natives of Hispaniola as living in an eastwardly direction from that island; they were said to be barbarous and cruel; to delight in committing depredations, and in disturbing the tranquillity of that and the neighbouring islands; they said that they were a nation of cannibals, and were called Caribees or Charaibees. This was the intelligence which Columbus received concerning them from the natives of Hispaniola, in his first voyage; and without any further knowledge of them he returned to Europe. In his future voyages he discovered the Windward Islands; and found them inhabited by that barbarous race whom the Hispaniolians had previously described.

These savage people seem to have engrossed almost all the islands which we denominate the West Indies, except Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, and the Bahama Islands, which lay between the northern islands above named and the Florida shore.

To this general distribution of the inhabitants, the island of Trinidad forms a most remarkable exception, which has been particularly noticed in our remarks on the natives of the Leeward Islands in the preceding chapter, to which we refer the reader for all the information that can be imparted on a point so extraordinary and perplexed.

But even admitting, that the natives of Trinidad spoke the language of the Leeward Islands, and that from many circumstances, they leave us much reason to believe they originated in the same tribe, yet this exception, extraordinary as it is, will not militate against the general theory which we have adopted. The whole stream of circumstantial testimony is in favour of

the southern origin of the Charaibees, and of the northern origin of the Apalachians or natives of the Leeward Islands.

The proximity of many of the Windward Islands to the southern continental shores, will justify the suppositions which we have made; and assigns to the Charaibees a southern origin. The islands of Tobago and Grenada are sufficiently near to be placed within the reach of the Indian canoes, and these modes of conveyance were undoubtedly adequate to all the purposes of such emigrations as we now suppose.

That Barbadoes was inhabited by the Charaibees when first discovered, will admit of no dispute; and the same arguments which enable us to account for its being thus inhabited, will empower us also to assign reasons for the peopling of Tobago, Grenada, and other Charaibee islands, even upon the supposition that Trinidad was peopled by the Apalachian tribe. The real distance between Barbadoes and the nearest island to it, is nearly as great as that which lies between Tobago or Grenada and the projecting lands on the continental shores.

The wars in which these Charaibees usually engaged on the continent with their most inveterate enemies the Arrowauks, plainly inform us, that their canoes were equal to the navigation of the waters which they had to pass. And no doubt can be justly entertained of the abilities of their forefathers to navigate the canoe, and conduct it in a similar manner, to the various parts of their insular abodes. Thus then, a difficulty which has actually been overcome in fact by the Charaibees, affords us sufficient ground to account for the peopling of the Windward Islands, though we even allow Trinidad to have been inhabited by another race.

But though these circumstances plead strongly for the immediate origin of this colony of Charaibees of which we speak, the evidence will not reach their *national origin*. On this point much learning has been employed, and much time has been spent: it is a question which involves little less than the peopling of the new hemisphere. And though many favourable circumstances may induce us to admit as certain, a variety of probabilities which appear to be well authenticated, yet the difficulties which arise from mature consideration, seem to spread a veil of darkness over the best-concerted hypothesis; and while these embarrassments lay an embargo on our belief, they conspire to wrap probability in shade.

That the nations which originally peopled America, were of transatlantic origin, will not be disputed by any man who believes the Bible. On this point the language of the sacred records is explicit and clear; it leaves not a shade either to shelter incredulity, or to cherish doubt. It is to this standard that

we must repair, when we inquire into the origin of those nations which people the northern and southern continents of America, and it is only from this fountain that we can draw the streams of information without any pollution or alloy.

The scriptures uniformly represent mankind as springing originally from one common root, and branching, as they multiplied, over the different regions of the globe; they inform us that God hath made of one blood all the nations which are upon the earth, and hath also appointed the bounds of their habitations. No truth can be more evident than this, that mankind began to exist on the eastern continent; and therefore from this source they must in process of time have proceeded in subsequent periods to people the western world. But whether the first adventurers, who departed from the old continent, crossed the narrow passage at Bering's Straits which lie under the Arctic Circle, or were driven across the Atlantic by adverse winds, it is not in our power to determine.

Mr. Edwards in his history of these islands, has adduced a variety of circumstances to prove that the Charaibean nations in particular, must have crossed the Atlantic in some of its widest parts. He imagines that their ancestors were driven by adverse circumstances within the reach of the trade winds, through which they were wafted to the American shores; and that having been exposed to the mercies of the elements which favoured their approaches, they landed on those northern parts of the southern continent, which we have already described. But that, as the winds which blow between the tropics were favourable to their approaches, so the same circumstances prohibited their return, and lodged them and their posterity in those regions of the western world. There are others however who dissent from this opinion, and conceive that this people entered America in the northern parts at Bering's Straits, and from thence descended into these southern latitudes.

In their persons the Charaibees were of moderate stature, nervous and strong, and their make such as seemed adapted to form men of uncommon strength. Their legs, thick and muscular, were generally well made; their eyes were black, large, and somewhat prominent. Active and vigorous, and capable of bearing the fatigues of war, they seemed like a race of men fitted for martial enterprise and warlike exploits. The internal spirit which prompted them to action, beamed occasionally through the lineaments of their countenances; it seemed to animate every feature, and to communicate motion to every tendon of their frame. An unconquerable energy apparently mingled itself with every gesture, and fury frequently darted from their looks. A certain wildness discovered itself in the sudden

glances of their eyes, which sometimes rolled with the internal emotions of their souls, and flashed with living anger on those whom they deemed their foes. Restless, ardent, and capable of high achievements, no shape which danger could assume, could deter them from an enterprise, where probability inspired hope of success. They seemed to consider depredation as the primary end of their being, and all objects of conquest as their natural prey. On these accounts their appearance was sufficient to excite the terror of the mild and inoffensive natives of the Leeward Islands. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural appearance by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable to the peculiar taste that prevailed among them. They suffered no hair to grow on any part of their bodies, except on the head and eye-brows. They wore no sort of garment; nor was their chastity on this account less secure. Only, in order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted their bodies from head to foot with the juice of rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the colour of a boiled lobster. They likewise disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, which they stained with black; and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage which divides the nostrils, and inserted the bone of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoise-shell; and they strung together the teeth of such of their enemies as they had slain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms as trophies of successful cruelty. Every method seemed to be adopted which could tend to strengthen their brutal ferocity, to make them frantic with rage in the day of battle, and to intimidate their enemies with that terror which their formidable appearance was calculated to inspire. The incisions which we have noticed, and the unsightly scars with which they deformed their cheeks, were without doubt introduced for the same reasons, to give them in the sight of their opponents the appearance of veterans, and to convince them that they rose superior to bodily pain. The paintings also with which they ornamented or disfigured their bodies, though adapted to that conveniency which we have mentioned, were not wholly inapplicable to their savage exploits. They had a tendency to set off their scars to the utmost advantage, and by that means to obtain from their enemies more credit for their fortitude than they really deserved, and credit for more fortitude than they really possessed.

There is a something in war so repugnant to the feelings of humanity, that the emotions of the soul require a varnish from external parade. In polished as well as savage life, the same principle prevails; the murder of our own species, in both

cases, is hostile to our feelings when abstracted from the influence of the ferocious passions, perfectly depraved as we are by nature. Ashamed of those steps which mark its conduct, our better judgment retires from the scene, and conceals its indignity beneath the glare of military disguise. And whether we behold the painted feathers, the nodding plumes, the formidable bear's skin, and glittering helmet of Europe, or the scarified arms, incised cheeks, perforated nostril, and painted body of the Charaibean, we only view distinct modifications of the same principle, operating under the direction of different tastes, and producing effects not radically unlike. In both cases the religious eye perceives the complaint of nature, labouring under a consciousness of its own disgrace, and seeking refuge in disguise.

To inspire individuals with heroic ardour is among the favourite arts of war. And to infuse into the mind of an enemy, an exaggerated idea of that military prowess which they have to oppose, may be considered as a favourable step toward a conquest. A knowledge of human nature, as it relates to the natural man, has been taught in no better school than that of experience; and while men act under the direction of one common guide, the instruction must be alike applicable to every climate, to every zone, and to every condition of mankind.

The Charaibees, instructed in this school of nature, knew how to improve by the terror which they could inspire. And while their conduct towards themselves, acted with hostility towards their enemies, it had a different effect on the youth of their own tribes: these beholding the glories which their heroes had acquired by signalizing themselves in war, would naturally feel a thirst for those honours which they were taught to revere as sacred from their earliest infancy. And attributing this military glory to the honorary scars, paintings, and incisions which they beheld, these youths might easily associate together the ideas of prowess and external embellishment, and be stirred to emulation through the talisman of deformity. Hence incisions became a necessary part of the masculine ornaments of a Charaibee, while their females stimulated by the same principles, but retarded by the weakness of their sex, imitated with painting the various ornaments which adorned the warrior, without submitting to the painful operations which their heroes had undergone.

We must allow that simple painting was useful, if not necessary, in their state, to secure them from the bites of insects. But that fantastic variety which deformed their features, and gave them such a disgusting appearance in the sight of the Europeans, could not have originated in simple necessity, nor hard-

ly altogether in a vitiated taste. Their incisions, and the paintings of them, might have been originally invented to render themselves hideous to their enemies; and finding this method successful, it continued, till, habituated to their national scars, deformity became familiar, and those who were destitute of these honorary marks became outcasts of society.

But this reproach was carefully avoided. In earliest childhood the scene of cruelty began, and the infant savage was apparently nursed in blood. As soon as a male child was brought into the world, he was sprinkled with some drops of his father's blood. The ceremony on this occasion was sufficiently painful to the father; but he submitted without emotion or complaint, fondly believing that the same degree of courage which he himself had displayed, was by means of this operation transmitted to the infant.* As the boy grew up, he was made familiar with scenes of barbarity; he partook of the horrid repasts of his nation, and was frequently anointed with the fat of a slaughtered enemy. To draw the bow with skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to swim with agility and hardiness, to catch fish, and to build a hut, were his first acquirements. And that their youth might be accomplished in the exercise of the bow, their food was often hung to a branch of a distant or lofty tree, and they were obliged to pierce it with their arrows before they were permitted to eat.

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* An entrance upon life was always to the infant the commencement of a scene of barbarity. Soon after its birth, two pieces of wood suited to the occasion were applied to its tender skull, one before and another behind; and these being firmly united together at each end by bandages or filaments which suited the purpose, the forehead of the child was considerably elevated by its growth. And when these boards were taken off, the forehead and back-part of the head were both flattened to a considerable degree; and presented the head altogether in a shape of unseemly distortion. On this account the eyes of a Charaibee always appeared lower than those of the European; while the head, apparently raised to a considerable height above them, presented to the view of the spectator a most disgusting figure.

From whence a custom so violent and unnatural took its rise, it is impossible accurately to determine. It is highly probable that it originated in prudence, though it was carried to excess. It might have taken its origin from the observations which they made on the openness of the skulls of infants; and from a full conviction that this opening must be closed, they might have applied these boards and bandages to expedite the tardy operations of nature; till, over-acting their primary design, they might have produced at first by accident that contortion, which became afterward sanctioned by custom, and formed an indispensable requisite in the head of a Charaibee.

In our own country a practice similar in principle, prevailed, and still prevails in many parts; but it was exercised with more prudence, and prevented the infants from feeling pain. The bandages which were thus applied, were designed to assist nature in closing the infant's skull; and I see no reason which can induce us to believe that the Charaibeans applied their boards and bandages with any other design.

These however were but preliminary ceremonies, adapted to the tender years of the young savages. But they were calculated to infuse dexterity, and to inure to disappointment; to inspire with patience in the midst of practical exploit; and to teach them to rekindle the flame of exertion at the dying embers of disappointment. Disappointment and success must alike have excited emulation in the youthful bosom; and the censures and applauses of the veterans, who were spectators of their deeds, must have called forth all their ardour, and awakened at an early period an appetite for renown.

The fat of the unhappy Arrowauk, who had fallen a victim to their power through the occurrences of war, with which their children were anointed, not only familiarized them to scenes of barbarity; but tended to stifle every tender feeling of nature, and to quench for ever the sparks of humanity in the earliest moments of their dawn. Accustomed to barbarity and inured to rapine through every period of their recollection, their hearts were hardened in a state of manhood against the groans of their wretched captives; while they exercised their cruel ingenuity in inflicting torments without pity or remorse. The seeds which are thus sown in early infancy, ripen with the progress of years; and cherished by constant action, through every intermediate stage, the youth puts on in mature age the utmost wildness and ferocity of savage life.

Among the various branches of savage education, an unconquerable aversion for the Arrowauks was particularly inculcated. They were held forth as the national enemy, and the young savage was incited to revenge from a long detail of traditionary wrongs. The hatred which was thus implanted, soon became deeply rooted, and finally terminated in an implacability not to be subdued.*

* We have said in a preceding page, that the Charaibees seemed to consider depredation as the chief end of their being; and that the power to conquer gave the right of conquest. We have also observed that the Arrowauks, a nation on the southern continent, with whom they were at continual war, were considered by them as their irreconcileable enemies; and this enmity, we may add, originated in all probability in some signal defeat which they sustained from that nation, by whom perhaps they were driven from the continent to these insular retreats. But though these sentiments may be founded upon fact, they are not perhaps of an exclusive application.

It is not improbable, through a long course of familiar detestation, which they associated with the name of Arrowauk, that whomsoever they considered as their enemies, became entitled to that appellation. And it is not unlikely that those among them, who were most forward in promoting any meditated depredation, represented the objects of their rapacity by that opprobrious epithet. This circumstance rarely failed to fill the most cowardly among them with a temporary courage, and led them on to those daring exploits, which formed a distinguishing trait in the character of a Charaibee.

The exercises of childhood soon gave place to performances which required more vigour; and which demanded from the young Charaibee a degree of magnanimity which the years of puberty could hardly promise to bestow. His fortitude and constancy were to be brought forth to the severest trial before he could be permitted to share in the honours of his countrymen, or assume the dignified title of man. A probationary ordeal awaited him through which he must necessarily pass; it was the portico which conducted to the temple of savage fame.

This moment of trial was an important epoch of his life, upon which depended the garland of honour or the hisses of disgrace. He was now about to depart from infancy, and to assume a name sounding and significant, expressive of something either glorious or dreadful in the views of his countrymen: he was to join them in their depredatory expeditions; and to make the achievements of his valour, and the glories of conquest, his own by martial enterprise. The importance of this æra in the life of a Charaibee, may therefore be easily conceived without any further elucidation. It was a season of barbarous festivity, in which the candidate for honour was permitted to participate in the horrid carnival of his nation, and to be initiated into scenes which are disgraceful even to savage life. It was a time of ferocious mirth, in which the feelings of humanity seemed to be suspended in every breast, and the passions were permitted to rage in all the fury of diabolical madness.

The severities which the probationary youth was to undergo, and which he even courted with surprising solicitude, afford us an awful proof of the influence of false principles and superstitious fortitude. He received from his father the most inhuman tortures, inflicted with every circumstance of barbarity that did not reach the citadel of life. In him who inflicted them, the feelings of the parent were totally unknown. The parent was lost in the man. The man was absorbed in the warrior; and the merciless savage overcame and swallowed all. Stripes that excoriated, and incisions that left an indelible

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On these accounts it is highly probable that they applied this opprobrious appellation to the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, whom they affected to consider as a colony of Arrowauks. It is however more likely that they really considered them as objects of enterprise and depredation; and gave them the title of Arrowauks to justify their pretences for invading their territories. That they considered all strangers as their common enemies, few who are acquainted with their history, will pretend to doubt; and "of the Europeans," says Mr. Edwards, "they formed a right estimation." Enemy and Arrowauk were with them nearly synonymous terms; and the name of Arrowauk was sufficient to give sanction to every depredation they had an inclination to commit.

cicatrice, burnings which approached to suffocation, and wounds which the healing hand of nature could never totally erase, were among the sufferings of the Charaibean youth. If these unnatural torments were sustained by him with invincible fortitude and heroic ardour, if he betrayed no symptoms of weakness, and suffered no pang to escape from the anguish of his soul; if he retired within himself in the midst of his tortures with a stoic insensibility, and discovered an apathy devoid of feeling; if he rose superior to bodily pain, and discovered unconquerable serenity while the rage of his persecutors attempted to extort his groans, he was released from tortures amid the plaudits of his country, and permitted to join the heroes of his nation. He was congratulated on his perseverance, and received the awful name for which he had been thus contending; became an avowed enemy of the Arrowauks, and was solemnly pronounced by those who had beheld his constancy, to be a man like unto themselves. He was thenceforth reckoned among the champions of his country, and stood a candidate for still higher honours.

But if, on the contrary, while passing through this ordeal of severity, he suffered a groan to be extorted from him, murmured at his fate, or complained at the inhuman barbarities which were thus practised upon him; if his placidity forsook him, or he betrayed any symptoms that could indicate a want of courage and constancy, he was dismissed with contempt, and prohibited from partaking the glories of the brave. As a defender of his country he was disgraced for ever, and could prefer no claim to those honours for which the heroic alone could contend.

Such were the circumstances on which their distinctions of rank depended! Abstracted from these, the most perfect equality subsisted among the men. They had no laws, and therefore knew nothing of obedience. Every man who felt himself injured, became the avenger of his own wrongs; and from the decisions of force there seemed to be no appeal. The only supremacy which they acknowledged, was the dictate of nature; but having no criterion, their comments were their own; and the impulse of their own inclinations appeared to be the expositor which they obeyed. To the aged veteran they indeed paid some ill-defined deference; but the authority of these old men was rather nominal than real. Of government they had no conception; and the inconveniences which anarchy must at all times occasion, require no remark. The weak in such cases must always become victims to the strong; and where every man becomes the avenger of his own wrongs, internal commotions and private assassinations must be the inevitable re-

sult. Thinned by these secret murders, and partially depopulated by repeated wars, having no means of recruiting their forces after a defeat, or of concentrating their power except in moments of exigency, their population was comparatively small; and their victories and defeats were productive of no lasting effects. Their conquests inspired them with fresh ardour, and their defeats stimulated them to retrieve the losses which they had sustained. On such occasions a public council was called, and peace or war in a savage way was decided by the popular vote. But though these Charaibees were destitute of laws and government, this is only to be understood in a civil view, in times of peace. In those of war, experience had taught them that courage without subordination was productive of the most fatal consequences. Their chieftains were elected amid the solemnities of a general assembly, to whom they yielded the most unfeigned submission.

But another trial awaited the candidate for these highest honours. His pretensions must once more be submitted to the ordeal, somewhat similar to those we have already described, only attended with circumstances of indescribable barbarity, from which the mind retires with disgust. The excruciating agonies which arose from burning, suffocation and whipping, constituted a part of those proofs, upon the issue of which his pretensions could alone be made good. If he rose superior to these afflictions, he had the honour conferred upon him of leading his countrymen into the field of war. He had then nearly reached the summit of his ambition; the conduct of his countrymen depended upon his voice, and his deathless name was thenceforward enrolled in the archives of glory.

But these were superlative honours to which few could aspire, and which fewer still were able to attain. The weakness of human nature unable to sustain the probationary agonies which were necessary to the attainment of these glories, frequently sunk beneath the intolerable pressure, and obliged the candidate to relinquish his claim. The magnanimity however which they manifested on these occasions, was astonishing and almost incredible; they were actuated with a degree of fortitude which philosophy could not inspire, and which the most exquisite torments could not always overcome.

The successful candidate immediately becoming a chieftain was instantly invested with the superlative honour of conducting his countrymen to renown. It is natural to expect, that he who had sustained torments at home with such invincible fortitude, would perform prodigies in the field, especially when he found himself invested with those honours for which he had seen the heroes of his country contending, and was now ex-

posed to the animadversions of those who had been his rivals in the temple of savage fame. Like the heroes of Homer, these chieftains became either the Achilles' or Hectors of their country, to defend it against the incursions of the Arrowauks, or to carry the flames of war into the enemies' own territories.

Neither the justice nor the injustice of the undertaking formed any part of their consideration. It was enough that their objects of depredation were denominated Arrowauks, and that there was any probability of conquest to reward the exploit. If the enterprises of the chieftain were accompanied with success, the savage triumph and the horrid festival of his country awaited his return. The male captives who were brought home in triumph, were either immediately slain to supply the unnatural repast; or reserved in captivity for more deliberate murder, as future exigency or caprice should demand. The females who were taken in these depredatory exploits, were reserved for the purposes of ruin, and to grace the procession of the victorious chief. The songs and dances of his country received him on his return, and conferred upon him a degree of superlative glory which the wealth of Europe could not purchase.

To us perhaps it may seem strange that so much should be suffered with invincible patience and courage, where nothing but emptiness and nominal greatness became the recompence for real pains. But this is estimating Charaibean valour by European standards; it is weighing their judgments in an improper balance, and forcing their notions of honour to submit to a criterion, from which their modes of life oblige them to appeal. They were gratified to the utmost of their ambition; they received all that their country could bestow, and they expected nothing more.

The successful hero now exchanged his name a second time with the unanimous consent of his country, and adopted as his own choice directed, that of the most terrible Arrowauk, who had either fallen by his hand in the day of battle, or had been brought home in triumph to adorn the carnival in his own country with all the barbarous circumstances of savage rage. In addition to this honorary title, his countrymen presented him with the choice of their most amiable daughters; and as polygamy was an established custom among them, he might appropriate as many as he pleased.

The glory of being elected a chieftain by the suffrage of his country; the song, the dance, the triumph, and festivity which awaited his return; the honorary title, the train of female captives, the virgins of his country who were presented to his choice; all these things taken in the aggregate, were considered by him as an ample reward for the toils and sufferings which

thus conducted him through rugged paths into these exalted regions of military glory.*

It ought not however to be omitted in the description of the Charaibean character, that while their enmities were implacable, their friendships were sincere. Though they considered all mankind in general as their enemies, we must not apply this remark without any exception. Some favourable circumstances would occasionally offer in their lucid moments, through which the stranger would gain upon their esteem. When their friendship was granted, it was given without reserve, and not revoked without an adequate cause. Dissimulation, in the garb of friendship, was a mode of dress which they never knew on such occasions; their hearts, like their bodies, were completely naked; they were implacable enemies, but not treacherous friends. It is to the nations of polished Europe that we must look for this inverted condition of the mind; it is there that we may behold, under the smiles of insincerity, and the blandishments of deceitful approbation, the dagger of the assassin and the torch of war. The Charaibean savage, though acting under the dominion of the ferocious passions, had not yet reached this refinement in iniquity; he knew not to disguise the real emotions of his soul, or to dress his resentment and animosity in the fraudulent apparel of masquerade.

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* Mr. Edwards in his Appendix on the Origin of the Charaibees, has strongly contended for their transatlantic migration; and he has introduced several passages from scripture, through which he endeavours to trace an affinity, from rites and customs which were found among the Charaibees; and which we well know were practised by the ancient eastern nations, namely, those of their funeral ceremonies and burying their dead. A variety of customs which were prohibited to the Israelites, were in use among the heathen nations in their time, and similar customs prevailed among the Charaibees; but, as observed before, the sacred history determines their oriental origin beyond all possibility of doubt, where credit is given to the divine oracles.

There is one circumstance, however, which Mr. Edwards has not noticed. The song, and dance, and triumph which awaited the successful Charaibean chief seem to bear a strong affinity to the customs which prevailed in the days of Saul and David. Thus we read in 1 Samuel, chap. xviii. 6—8. "And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistines, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands. And Saul was very wroth, and the saying displeased him; and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands; and what can he have more but the kingdom?" We may easily learn from this passage the amazing influence of popular applause, and the jealousy which Saul discovered when he found David more popular than himself; we may perceive it operating in all its force in the concluding remark of Saul's speech—"What can he have more but the kingdom?"

It has been confidently asserted that the Charaibee felt with a degree of stupid indifference the influence of soft affection; and that love, on all occasions, exercised its efficacy with doubtful empire in his breast. But this current opinion of historians is rather rendered questionable by fact. The female captives which fell into their hands through the consequences of war, and the most lovely of the Charaibean virgins, who, on the result of a successful enterprise, were offered to the victorious chief, could hardly be considered as a reward of valour, if the chieftain beheld his prize with the eye of insensibility. Engaged as they were in almost perpetual warfare, the vicissitude of events must have awakened a variety of sensations, and kept alive a degree of solicitude, which tended to eclipse the softer passions. More active and daring than their inoffensive neighbours of the Leeward Islands, the gentler affections became less conspicuous, and shone with but feeble emanations amid the glare of military parade. The arts and manufactures of the Europeans they treated with supercilious contempt; they regarded them just as we view the rattles and playthings which amuse our children; and without doubt the virgins of their country, and their female captives, would have met with the same neglect, if they had been seen with similar indifference.

But what predilection soever they might have felt for the female sex, it must be acknowledged that they treated their women with much indignity, and placed them in an abject state of degradation. The subjection of the female sex they seemed to infer from their bodily weakness, and the wife and the slave were not unfrequently made equal partakers of one common woe. Their wives were discarded at pleasure, and new ones chosen as caprice seemed to direct; while the unfortunately discarded woman was peremptorily forbidden to receive another husband. The virgin that had been bestowed as the reward of that heroism which we have already noticed, soon fell into disgrace: she had been received without any previous attachment, and was dismissed without either notice or ceremony. A new object, though much inferior in personal accomplishments, and acquired without honour, frequently supplanted her female predecessor; and she was supplanted in her turn with equal ease. The rank which they held in their husbands' affections, stood on a very precarious tenure; degradation was their lot, a lot which they might expect to suffer, and which neither prudence nor artifice could avert.

In the earliest days of female triumph, the wife was treated rather as a slave than companion; the distinction consisted more in the external trappings of decoration, or the badges of disgrace, than in any mode of conduct which bore a resem-

blance to European tenderness. The wife was not permitted to eat with her husband, nor even in his presence; he was the despot rather than the husband; and the unfortunate woman was sure to find a tyrant, where she ought to have found a friend.

Their females in general they considered as inferior to themselves, and obliged them to perform those drudgeries for which nature has evidently intended the masculine race. The cassava was prepared and conducted by them in all its process; the hammock was woven by them; and by them the maize was ground. The various branches of domestic labour were executed by them; and while the men were jealous of the least infringement of their liberties and rights, their women were considered in nearly the same light as female foes.

From these circumstances we may easily infer, that the attachment which these savages felt towards their women, had no reference to genuine love. They were actuated only by the brutal passions: the refinements of that love, which derives its vigour from a congeniality of soul, a reciprocity of affection, and a disinterestedness of attachment; together with those nameless sensibilities which beam through the nuptial state in ten thousand perceptible emanations, and infuse endearments into these departments of social life, were sensations totally unknown to the Charaibean breast.

The polygamy which was established among them, and which seems uniformly to have prevailed among all barbarous nations, in all probability was not of Indian origin, but was imported from the oriental continent, where their first ancestors undoubtedly resided. It is a custom which has obtained in a state of nature; where the rights of both sexes have not been defined, and established by the equity and coercion of law. It is to the introduction of Christianity that we are indebted for the abolition of an usage so repugnant to true reason, and to the word and command of God. It is to the Christian system that we are obliged for numerous blessings which we ungratefully ascribe to other causes. We too frequently attribute to our own ingenuity and prudence the comforts and mercies which immediately flow from God; and we raise an altar to ambition upon the ruins of an ungrateful heart. No scheme of religion which at this moment extends its raven wings over the benighted inhabitants of the world, strikes closely to the root of the most favourite vices of mankind, like the Christian. This builds on a permanent foundation, and lodges its rewards beyond the grave. All besides may be considered as erecting a standard in the suburbs of paganism, and soothing their proselytes with delusive promises of sensual rewards. The recom-

pence which these false systems promise, can only be gratifying to a heart debased by corruption, and which aims no higher than the indulgence of the sensual passions; but from which the mind that has been enlarged with the extensive views of Christianity, departs with aversion and disgust.

As the Charaibees wore no clothing, their attention could not be much engrossed by artificial ornaments and the etiquette of dress. Their hair, which was long, coarse, black, straight, and shining, constituted their principal decoration; and stood high in their own estimation. It was braided with peculiar care, and occasionally interwoven with the feathers of tropical birds; and while the cartilage of the nostrils, which had been perforated to receive its embellishment, was filled with a fish-bone, and the hair was plaited with feathers of various colours, the head of a Charaibee in full equipment exhibited a most curious spectacle.

The ornaments of which we have spoken, were, however, wholly confined to the native Charaibees. The captives were degraded below these dignities. Their male captives, we have already noticed, were never preserved. Those who were not slain in battle, were kept for more deliberate cruelty; to rekindle expiring animosity, and to make the horrid carnival of some future feast. The degrading prohibitions which we thus remark, must therefore be considered as exclusively applying to the female sex. To these all honorary distinctions were denied; the hair was shorn; and they were reduced to the utmost state of degradation. They were doomed to drag on a miserable existence under the arbitrary direction of their merciless conquerors, who had been the murderers of their fathers, husbands, lovers, brothers, friends and children; some of whom they had perhaps seen slaughtered, torn to pieces, and devoured before their eyes. What degrees of acuteness we may annex to their sensibilities on such occasions, it is hard to determine. Perhaps a savage state may tend to blunt the finer feelings, and may render the mind less susceptible of its wrongs. But admitting their feelings on such occasions to be equal to what we may conceive, when we estimate them by our own, death must be preferable to such a mode of existence. The painful moments of suffering must soon terminate in such a case; while the survivor only measures her existence with her sorrow, and lives over the anguish of the past, while she recollects in the person of her conqueror the murderer of her friends.

That the Charaibees were cannibals is too well attested to be denied. There are but few circumstances in the annals of mankind supported by more indubitable proof. But whether this custom was confined to the bodies of their enemies slain in bat-

tle, and to those of their prisoners of war, is a point on which historians are not agreed. There are however many suspicious circumstances which incline us to believe, that this horrid practice was carried beyond the momentary rage of war. Of this inhuman custom Columbus received information from the natives of Hispaniola, in his first interview with them. And having landed at Guadaloupe on the discovery of the Windward Islands, he found in the cabins of the natives, the different limbs, and heads, of the human body, which had been evidently separated from one another, and were held in reserve for future repasts. At the same time he rescued from these barbarians several of the inhabitants of Porto Rico whom war or some other cause had thrown into their hands, and who were evidently destined to become their future prey. There were others whose limbs were dried, and kept among them for particular purposes; and were produced in the midst of their dismal orgies, to excite them to war, to stimulate to depredations, or to animate them to revenge and blood.

These are circumstances which exceedingly darken the character of the Charaibee. We behold in him, human nature sunk to the lowest state of degradation. He appears in this view uniting with the tigers and hyenas of the desert; or influenced by a species of barbarity to which the shaggy inhabitants of the forest are strangers. The Charaibee with a ferocity that is almost unexampled, devours his own species. Disinherited of the Divine image, as we all are in our native state, and left to the guidance of his own actions, the Charaibee discovers human nature without any disguise; and in him we learn what man is in his present fallen condition, uninstructed by revelation, and uninfluenced by divine grace.

But though the circumstances which have been recently mentioned, are too abominable to admit of palliation, and too notorious to allow of disguise, these traits of character, together with a few more which will rise into observation, give the Charaibee his deepest shade. There are many circumstances which tend to soften the picture which has been drawn, and to arrest our indignation against the unfeeling savage. Of all strangers they were extremely fearful and suspicious, and the conduct of the Europeans justified their discreet opinion. They were jealous of their liberties, and watched with eagle eyes the least shade of infringement of them. But friendship and affection seemed in general to prevail among them towards one another according to their respective sexes. As a community their interests were common; and the engagements which they formed, were observed with more faithfulness than could be reasonably expected from people so barbarous, and otherwise so

depraved. And though the glimmerings of humanity are sometimes overborne by the ferocity of the savage, yet we occasionally behold a ray of light which sparkles with refulgence amid the gloom; and which would confer no dishonour on man in a civilized state.

The knowledge which we have of these islanders, being founded on a distant view of their characters, we lose sight of many amiable domestic qualities which a nearer inspection would probably afford. We see them in all the circumstances of disadvantage, without beholding the just proportions of light and shade, which are so necessary in the formation of the human character, whether in savage ignorance or polished life. It is only by thus presuming, that we can account for their existence as a nation, in a state of perpetual warfare, without government, without commerce, and without laws. Some latent excellencies which have not reached our knowledge, and which are now lodged in the deepest recesses of darkness, must therefore have influenced their domestic conduct, though in ways and manners which are locked from our researches.

The prevailing feature in the Charaibean character, was an inordinate thirst for power, which knew no bounds. And those peculiar cruelties which give him the deepest shade, seem to be in some sense artificial, and in a great measure superinduced by their modes of education. But though a thirst for military glory may be considered as the predominant feature in their character, a taste for civil power was not the result of their personal bravery, nor did any expectation of superiority, or civil dignity, constitute their reward. In military expeditions alone they acknowledged subordination; but this distinction ended with the exploit. At other times they were all on an equal footing; and in some cases things were in common among them. The degrees of rank and subordination which they discovered among the Europeans, excited their surprise, and occasionally awakened their indignation. And so repugnant was this system to their ideas, that they considered those persons as slaves who were so weak as to acknowledge a superior, or to obey his commands. They estimated all mankind by that standard which measured themselves; and following by this mode of conduct the dictates of unenlightened nature, they were sanctioned in their decision by the common suffrage of all the nations upon earth. We only recede from this decision as our minds become enlightened; and we correct our judgments as our knowledge becomes enlarged.

But though power and military honours constituted their highest glory, the courage which they manifested was chiefly of an active nature. Passive courage formed but a small part of

the Charaibean character. This may appear rather inconsistent, when we recur to the voluntary sufferings which they underwent at an early age. But in this case they suffered with an eye to the reward; and were fully assured that their temporary anguish would issue in a requital that should crown them with applause.

But in their depredatory excursions, it frequently happened that the incidents of war frowned upon their expeditions; and they occasionally became the prisoners of those whom they intended to destroy. While either resistance or the prospect of deliverance supported them, their courage appeared invincible; but when they found all expectation of escape cut off, hope forsook their bosoms, and they became the victims of remediless despair. The pressure of the calamities with which they were encircled, depressed their spirits; and abandoning life, they frequently sought through death a refuge in the grave.

Of a barbarous and savage people like the Charaibees; it is folly to inquire largely into the moral character. It is, however, but justice to say all that can be said in behalf of a nation whose name is associated with shade. We have already observed that while they were implacable in their resentments, they were sincere in their attachments, and faithful to the engagements which they voluntarily made. And though they were addicted to some crimes of the most shocking nature, yet all the vices had not made the Windward Islands their native abode: that of adultery was unknown among them, till they were visited by the Europeans; before this period they had no mode of punishment for such an offence; but when with other crimes it was imported from Europe, the injured husband became his own avenger.

An historian to whom I have acknowledged my obligations, has preserved an anecdote which is too important to be omitted. "In some respects," says he, "we have enlightened, and in others, to our shame be it spoken, we have corrupted them. We perceive in them a difference, and they also perceive the change. On this subject one of our planters was thus addressed by an old Charaibee: Our people, says he, are become almost as bad as yours. We are so much altered since you came among us, that we hardly know ourselves. And we think it is owing to so melancholy a change, that hurricanes are more frequent than they were formerly. It is the evil spirit who hath done all this; who hath taken our best lands from us, and given us up to the dominion of the Christians."

Though adopting the unnatural custom of feeding on human flesh, there were several animals which they refused to taste; and no sufficient reason can be assigned for this abstemiousness without referring it to some religious motive. But what their

motives were for a variety of actions which are too obvious to be denied, and too strange to be accounted for, we must be satisfied to remain in ignorance.

In some of the relative duties they were not altogether deficient. They felt in the midst of that horrid gloom which surrounded them, a degree of filial affection which would not dishonour human nature in her most exalted abodes. They venerated their parents, and supported them in their declining years with all the solicitude of obedient duty. And though their affectionate feelings were blended with the most abominable cruelties, yet an obedience to paternal commands urged them to those actions, at which their feelings would perhaps otherwise have revolted. An affection for their departed friends, mixed indeed with the grossest superstition, induced them to perpetuate their memories in various ways. But these topics will better appear in a subsequent page, when we proceed to review their religious sentiments, their funeral ceremonies, and their expectations of rewards and punishments in another life. Our business at present is with their modes of life.

Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet consisting of a number of cabins or huts, of greater or less consequence, in proportion to the space of ground they occupied. The chief or patriarch of the family lived in the centre, with his wives and younger children; and around him were placed the huts of such of his descendants as were married. The columns that supported these huts, were stakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture consisted of some arms, cotton beds made very plain and simple, and some baskets and utensils made of calabashes. These cabins or huts were pitched as the caprice or fancy of the possessor directed his inclination. But as a degree of savage friendship subsisted among them, several families occasionally united their buildings, or erected them on one large spot, but without regularity, without order, and without a plan. This assemblage of huts constituted a Charaibean town. Of these towns they had many, their numbers determining the magnitude of their villages.

In some convenient place of the most important village, they erected a hut of more than ordinary magnitude. It was not occupied by any individual, but served as a senate house, or an academy, as circumstances required. In this hut they related the achievements of their forefathers, and of themselves. In this they kindled up the sparks of ambition, and awakened an ardour for military glory in the bosoms of their youth, and adjusted affairs of great importance. It is probable that in these theatres they debated the propriety of peace or war in their

cooler moments, before they proceeded with that madness which prompted them to immediate action.

In this hut or hall, they recounted to one another the injuries they had sustained from their enemies, and enumerated the crimes of the Arrowauks; but most probably forgot their own. In this they calculated upon the events of their new engagements, mustered their forces, and planned the destined war. In this hut their youth underwent that dreadful ordeal which we have already described; and were, if successful in their sufferings, initiated into all the rights and privileges of the aged and the brave. In this also their chieftains were elected, after having passed through their probationary torments which lay at the threshhold of fame and honour. In this their heroes heard their own glories recounted in the harangues of their orators, and received from their cotemporaries their nominal but earnestly coveted reward. These circumstances must have operated with peculiar efficacy on the youthful mind; and have excited to emulation, while they administered rewards.

In this hut they also recounted their own disasters, and without doubt calculated upon the losses which they had sustained. So that while they enumerated "their own heroic deeds," they recorded their hapless fall by doom of battle, and complained "that fate free virtue should inthrall to force or chance." In these perpetual agitations, which arose from a strange vicissitude of victory and defeat, the life of a Charaibee must have been made up of tumult and alarm. The mind in such a situation, must have been constantly engaged in brooding over past misfortunes or in meditating future revenge.

In this hut, the uses of which we have been describing, they regularly or by general agreement met for the dispatch of public affairs. At other times their meetings were casual, and depended solely on the will of those who chose to attend. This however only applied to the men. The women on all occasions were forbidden to enter this grand cabin by the established customs of their community; they were obliged to retire, to what may be termed their personal habitations, without attempting to intrude, either upon the councils, or pleasures of the men.

In this hut or grand cabin, which bears a strong resemblance to the halls which are recorded by Ossian the Scottish bard, in which the exploits of Conal, Cuthulian, and Fingal were related to rouse a spirit of martial enterprise, the Charaibees had frequently a scene of festivity. Every thing on such occasions was in common among them; and the consumption was borne at the joint expense of the parties.*

* Of the origin of their arts they gave the following account. And as superstition is the produce of every climate, it is not improbable that the tra-

Unacquainted with every branch of science, and untrained from their earliest infancy in any kind of exercise but that which war afforded, the hours must have moved tardily; and their time must have rested upon them as an intolerable burden. In savage, as well as civilized life, the soul requires activity and exercise; its vacant moments are burdensome and dull; and in such a situation it feels its imprisonment, and suffers from the chain. It prompts to action in cases where the judgment is too feeble to direct its energies; and produces effects through its native activity, which are more pernicious than perfect inanity. The exuberance of its energies will render itself conspicuous, even where reason is unable to controul its force; and time must be either improved or murdered through every moment that fleets along its stream.

Such was the case with the Charaibees. Their reasoning powers had never been called into much exercise. They were enfeebled by sloth, and injured by inaction, and were insufficient to assume the empire of the intellectual part of man. Hence the vices of savage life became predominant, and gathered strength from those actions which would submit to no restraint. The mind of the Charaibee presents magnificence in utter ruins; it shews the natural depravity of man in its most disgraceful attire, and awfully demonstrates the certainty of a most radical defect.

The amusements which are established in civilized countries, and the boisterous revels which are found in a savage state, are but distinct emanations from the same innate activity of the soul; and the popinjay of Europe, and the Charaibee of the western world, both conspire to establish the same truth. The large cabin of the Charaibee was undoubtedly introduced by him to relieve his mind from the horrors of vacancy, and to improve himself and countrymen in those practices which originated in the improper direction of the native vigour of his soul. But from the amusements of this cabin they soon retired to their private huts. In these huts the Charaibees spent the greatest part of their lives, when not at war, either in sleeping or smoaking. When they went out, they retired into some

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dition was preserved with veneration. "To an ancient Charaibee bemoaning the uncomfortable savage life of his countrymen, a deity clad in white apparel appeared, and told him, He would have come sooner to have taught him the ways of civil life, had he been addressed before. He then shewed him sharp cutting stones to fell trees and build houses, and bade him cover them with palm leaves. He then broke his staff in three, which, being planted, soon after produced cassada." See Note on the "Sugar Cane," a poem by James Grainger, M. D. p. 148.

corner, and sat upon the ground, or at the foot of a tree, seemingly absorbed in the most profound meditation. Reserved in their families, they seldom spoke; but when they did, were always heard without interruption or contradiction. Their words were attended to with the strictest punctuality; they were despots in their houses; their females crouched in humble submission before them; and a declaration of their will was law.

In these reveries of solitude which engrossed the vacant hours of the Charaibee, he brooded over his past misfortunes, and endeavoured to improve by the late disasters which he had suffered. In these retirements he examined at leisure the topics which his countrymen had proposed on the great concerns of peace or war; and prepared himself to meet the subject of debate, to censure or applaud the measures, just as the proposal met his view.

The sustenance of himself and family excited no solicitude. He slept in peace, thoughtless and careless of to-morrow's fare. His household followed his example, or acted from the same common instinct which nature had inspired; frigidly indifferent both to hope and fear. Clothing for themselves and families was an article to which they were strangers; and their paints and other ornaments were provided without their aid; their time was therefore divided into two portions, and chiefly engrossed between solitude and war.

Men who dwell in the woods, consume less than those who dwell in open countries. The temperance therefore of these islanders was habitual, and they took but little trouble to procure their scanty sustenance. Without being compelled to the toilsome labours of cultivation, they constantly found in their forests a wholesome vegetable food suited to their constitutions, and which required little or no care in preparing it. If they sometimes added to their fruits and vegetables what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was generally on some public festivals; and these were not held at any stated times; they were therefore always considered as extraordinary assemblies. They depended entirely on the fancy of the person who was at the expense of the feast, notice being given some days before to all the neighbours, and upon particular occasions to the whole island; but no one was obliged to attend though invited. Sometimes they were called together to resolve on a voyage of negotiation, or a visit, or for going to war with another nation. If war was the subject of the meeting, some old woman was produced, who harangued the guests to excite them to vengeance. She gave a long detail of the wrongs and injuries they had suffered from the enemy, enumerated the relations and friends they had killed; and when she saw that the whole com-

party were violently heated, she began to exhibit signs of rage; and that they might no longer breathe any thing but blood and death, she threw into the middle of the assembly the dried limbs of some who had been slain in former wars, which they fell upon immediately like furies, biting, scratching, tearing in pieces, and chewing them with all the rage of which cowardly and vindictive men are capable in a savage state. They then approved the proposal, and promised to be ready on an appointed day to set out together, in order to go and exterminate all their enemies.

It was seldom that any of these riotous meetings passed without homicide, which was committed without much ceremony. It was sufficient for one of the guests to recollect that another had killed one of his relations, or that he had given him some offence: nothing more was wanting to excite him to revenge. He rose up without ceremony; he got behind his adversary, and either split his head with a blow from his club, or stabbed him with a knife; and not one of the persons present endeavoured to prevent the assassination, or to arrest the perpetrator of the horrid deed; except it so happened that the unfortunate victim had sons, brothers, or nephews in the assembly; in which case they immediately fell upon the assassin, and dispatched him. Thus a people, who without any regular form of government, enjoyed a base kind of tranquillity, and gave way to a life of indolence, in their domestic retirement, manifested the utmost brutality in these convivial assemblies, where hatred and revenge appeared to be their predominant passions.

The wars they engaged in, as hinted already, were chiefly carried on against the Araucos or Arrowauks, a powerful Indian nation on that part of the continent of South America, which extended along the coasts of Guiana. The natural antipathy of the Charaibees, which was transmitted from father to son, we have already conjectured to have arisen from their ancestors being expelled the country of the Arrowauks, and obliged to seek new habitations and a settlement in the islands named after them. They embarked on these warlike expeditions in boats called canoes, constructed from a single tree, made hollow and shaped by a tedious and laborious process, partly by fire, and partly with hatchets in which a sharp stone was fixed to serve as a knife. Their weapons were a massy club and poisoned arrows, and their usual mode of attack was by concealing themselves in the woods. Sometimes they covered themselves with leaves; sometimes they stood or lay down behind trees or hillocks; then they suddenly sprung out from these ambushes, and made a dreadful slaughter. If timely discovered on their march, they

seldom engaged in open battle, but retreated to wait a better opportunity of making use of stratagem.

The attention and care bestowed on aged persons to the last extremity of life, was a distinguishing lineament in the character of the Charaibees; but one extraordinary act of kindness in their esteem, would be considered as an act of cruel inhumanity by Europeans, and especially by a lover of the gospel of Jesus Christ. If their old people, tired of life, or exhausted by pain or sickness, entreated to be released from their torments, they put them to death; but this rarely happened. They also cut their own hair short, made loud lamentations, and sometimes made gashes in their flesh, for the loss of their relations and friends.

The hair of the Charaibees, we have already noticed, was ranked by them among their most important articles of ornament. On this account their slaves were never permitted to wear it long; but such of their own people as had been taken prisoners, but were again restored, though some marks of degradation were placed upon them as badges of dishonour, were not denied this privilege. It was a token of national distinction, which seemed unalienable.

As the Charaibees had no laws, so they had no external form of religious worship; and therefore neither the former nor the latter had suggested to them any place of common rendezvous, in which they might deposit the bodies of their dead. In this point as well as others they were left to act under the impulse of nature, with nothing but the conduct of their predecessors for their guide.

To the patriarch of a family were assigned some particular marks of distinction in his death, which in his life-time he was not permitted to claim. Instead of being interred in some vault sacred to the family, his own cabin or hut which had been his habitation when living, became his sepulchre after death. The friends and relations of the deceased, after spending some time in lamentation, abandoned this habitation of death, after having finished the obsequies of their departed friend. His grave was dug nearly in the centre of his own habitation, in which he was interred in a sitting posture, and covered with rubbish. The habitation, these rites being performed, was then totally abandoned by all his survivors, and they selected a distant spot to erect another hut.

Of their religious views, of their notions of a Supreme Being and their prospects of rewards and punishments in another life, something still remains to be said. But on each of these topics our information is scanty; a beam of light, it is true, will oc-

casionally dart across the gloom of savage darkness, to illuminate the horrors which encircle them on every side. But though our views are circumscribed with barriers which we cannot pass, the glimmerings of light which we perceive, will tend further to establish a fact which is indeed already incontrovertible; that some faint traces of these truths have been found in all the savage nations upon earth. Their notions, it is true, like those of the Charaibees, have been confused and indistinct; but the diamond glitters through the rubbish with which it is inclosed, and unfolds its well-known marks to that eye which has been accustomed to peruse the page of revelation.

They considered the earth as their common bountiful parent, to whom they held themselves indebted for all the necessaries, comforts and conveniencies of life; and they were ready on all occasions to acknowledge the obligations which such favours conferred. They also admitted the existence of a good and of an evil spirit, which continually operated in hostility to each other. To both of these spirits they assigned an efficient power, and supposed that the earth occasionally acted under the controul of both. To the good spirit they ascribed the blessings which the earth produced in all its varied productions which they enjoyed: but to the evil spirit they attributed all the natural evils with which they felt themselves afflicted, and imagined that it was the cause of earthquakes, hurricanes, and excessive droughts, with which their lands were occasionally visited. Such were their general notions of a first or primary cause!

What their sentiments of spirit in general were, we do not know, nor can we be assured that they had any such views as would submit to definition. They must have considered it as something distinct from the world which they inhabited, because their notion both of the good and evil spirit included an idea of power, which was capable of controuling the different elements with which they were surrounded. But whether they supposed the good and evil spirit to be equal to each other, or considered one to be superior to the other, are points which we connot ascertain. Neither can we satisfy ourselves as to the various perfections which they ascribed to the Divine Being. The notion of power seemed to be predominant, which must have been confusedly blended with some indistinct notions of wisdom and goodness. But still they were incapable of conceiving how a being who included goodness and wisdom in his nature, could permit those various evils to exist which so frequently overtook them; and from this inability to reconcile theory with fact, it is highly probable that they introduced their evil spirit, to remove seeming contradictions from their own ideas. They were sensible of the difficulties with which they were en-

cumbered, but were forgetful of the absurdities into which they plunged themselves.

Whether either or both of these spirits were infinite and eternal, they did not seem to know; nor could they carry their conceptions into speculations so remote as subjects of this nature would be to them, so as to reason abstractedly on the eternity of God. They were satisfied that both moral and physical evil existed, but they could account for the origin of neither. They were equally assured that these were effects of some adequate causes, and they formed to themselves distinct notions of these causes, allowing one to be good and the other evil, thus making their deities and observations to correspond with one another. The manner in which these divinities existed, seemed not to have engrossed their thoughts; nor are we any where informed, whether they ascribed to them a local residence, or supposed them to have a kind of omnipresent existence. They however admitted that their deities were in themselves invisible to their sight, and incomprehensible to their knowledge; but still, that the good spirit was a spectator of their conduct; and that his observation of their actions here, became the foundation of those rewards or punishments, which they expected to have administered to them in another life.

They attributed to the malignant spirit more activity in the present world than they ascribed to the good; but in another life the case appeared to be reversed. The power of the evil spirit seemed to be confined to their earthly abode, in which it always endeavoured to do them mischief, and on all occasions to oppose and counteract the designs of the good, who was rather an idle spectator, and felt but little concern in the affairs of men. But in that state of being which they admitted beyond the grave, their evil spirit appeared either to be deprived of power or of existence; the good alone seemed capable of every exertion, and it was from him alone that they expected either rewards or punishments. Such were the leading features of the notions which they had of the conduct of their divinities toward them.

But besides these general views of these two apparently independent deities, they imagined that they acted towards mankind through the agency of some subordinate beings, of whom they could give but a very obscure account. The intermediate agents, they supposed, exercised their functions between the deities and themselves on all occasions; and they considered them as messengers constantly passing and repassing in their tutelary employment, and they supposed them so numerous as to preside over every individual of their tribe.

It was always through the agency of these tutelary beings that

they addressed themselves to their divinities: it was through these miserable idols or demons that they expected their gods would be accessible to them, or avert those mischiefs to which they found themselves exposed. With these *inferior* agents they fancied themselves to be familiar; they were charged with their orders, they were loaded with their prayers, and their sacrifices and offerings were entrusted to their care. In honour of these subordinate spirits they erected statues from a species of clay which they hardened in the fire, and fixed on some pedestal in a conspicuous part of their villages; but these were of a considerable magnitude. There were others more portable in size, and more commodious for conveyance from place to place, as necessity or choice should direct the individual. These diminutive idols were perhaps designed as talismans in all the branches of their expeditions; they were to serve as directors to their tutelary deities to engage their guardianship and protecting care, when they embarked on perilous enterprises, and were placed beyond the reach of the large, the stationary village idol which always resided at home.

The shape which these images assumed, was imperfect and uncertain. They bore, upward, some distant resemblance to a human head; and this seems to be all the distinction that can be given. Downward, they were rather made for conveniency than representation; and the purposes of accommodation seemed rather to be studied, than any symbolical likeness to the tutelary beings which they were supposed to personate. But as the spirits which these idols represented, were unreal and destitute of all existence (unless they be supposed to be devils) it is not surprising that their images should be absurd. Like the imps and fairies which haunt the imaginations of some of the most ignorant in our native country, of which no likeness can possibly be given, these imaginary inferior agents of the Charaibees baffled the skill of their most ingenious artists—the utmost of their power could reach no further than an uncouth figure of a human head.

I know not whether it may be refining too much upon their savage condition, to suppose that this partial view and partial concealment of the persons of their deities, in the images which they made, were designed to represent the manner in which they thought that their gods revealed themselves, in the various concerns of life; but certain it is, that between these views there is at least some distant similitude. They perceived enough to convince them that a superior power had an existence, but yet they saw him too confusedly to be able to comprehend either that existence which they admitted, or those ways which demonstrated to them his being. But these were perhaps senti-

ments too refined for the savage Charaibee. It is more probable that he acted from still grosser impulses, and that he attempted to represent the invisible God by the workmanship of his hands. In this view he holds out an awful picture of human nature, and affords us a melancholy lesson of our depraved condition. We learn from him what our own situation would have been, if the God whom we serve, had either deprived us of revelation, or given to us the direction of our own actions without an effectual guide.*

Besides these large and stationary, and diminutively moveable idols which we have noticed, they had in some convenient place in every village, a kind of rural altar, evidently erected *to an unknown God*. It was simple in its construction, and was composed of rushes and the leaves of the banana. To this place they resorted like the first of woman born, who "brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord." On these altars they placed, as occasional circumstances directed, some early productions of the earth, which, through the mediation of their supposed tutelary beings, were offered to appease the vengeance of the angry spirit.

Gratitude however for past mercies, formed but an inconsiderable part of that homage which they paid; they were actuated by different motives; and they rather designed to avert impending anger, than to acknowledge actual obligations. That being whom they considered as remotely good, they imagined was invariably propitious, and wanted no conciliating oblation: they seemed to view him as uniformly favourable; and consequently from him as they had nothing to fear, so they had nothing to hope beyond the blessings which were uniformly bestowed. Their conduct towards him was a requital of his inactivity towards them; and they received his kindnesses with indifference, as events which reached them through the regular channel of their bountiful parent the earth. To this good deity they seemed to attribute no affections; they addressed to him no invocations; and conducted themselves towards him as they professed to believe, as a being who felt no concern in the affairs of men.

Of their malignant demons they however entertained a very

* Mr. Hughes in the commencement of his Natural History of Barbadoes, observes, "that he saw the head of one of the larger idols dug up in the island of Barbadoes, which of itself weighed no less than 60 pounds. It originally stood on an oval pedestal about three feet in height." At the same time various fragments of the lares or household gods were raised from the ground: but the heads of these were very small; they seemed only made for domestic occasions.

different opinion. The evil spirit and his inferior agents, they considered as the authors of all their calamities; they therefore looked upon them as their greatest foes; they availed themselves of every method which they thought could be available, to render them propitious; and instituted those sacrifices which they offered, to deprecate their wrath. Like the Hottentots of the eastern continent, they considered God as an inoffensive being, and besought the evil spirit with the most fervent solicitude, that he would do them no harm. Their devotions in every part were unquestionably sincere; but they were the offspring of the most slavish fear, and not of love. They arose from an apprehension of danger; terror was the primary source of their obedience; and they yielded a reluctant submission to a power which they hated as well as feared. Their devotional actions seemed to be called into existence through the immediate influence of dangers which they felt; and the magnitude of the calamity appeared to be the criterion of the nature of that homage which they paid. The earthquake and the hurricane could not fail to alarm them, whenever the Almighty manifested his power towards them in these tremendous visitations. On these occasions especially were their devotions called into action, by the impulse which arose from those clouds of horror, which, on these awful moments, must have gathered closely around them.

But in addition to those acts of religion which we have thus surveyed, respecting their stationary and moveable idols; the altars which they erected; their good and evil spirit, their middle order of mediatorial demi-gods, and their abstinence from several kinds of animal food; besides these, and the offerings which they made, and homage which they paid, their religious rites had also even a darker and deeper shade. They had some pretended magicians among them, by whom all their oblations were made, whom they denominated Boyez. These they were taught to believe, were familiar with those demons and evil spirits whom they so much dreaded; and having acquired over them through the influence of superstition a vast degree of ascendency, they easily made them the dupes of their impositions, which riveted the fetters of ignorance upon their minds.

On particular occasions they inflicted upon themselves, either voluntarily, or by the direction of their Boyez, the most dreadful lacerations and gashes, with an instrument made on purpose, in which were inserted the teeth of the agouti.* With

* The agouti is a land animal known in these islands, of the quadruped kind, of a species between a rat and an English rabbit. The teeth of this animal are remarkably sharp, and calculated to inflict a wound at once painful and severe.

this instrument they tore their flesh, and poured a bloody libation to their offended god. Whether these inflictions were administered by way of expiatory sacrifices to atone for offences which they had previously committed, or were nothing more than the natural effects of an unmeaning superstition operating in frantic rage, are points which perhaps are only known to God. Some traces of an expiatory sacrifice have been discovered among the most unenlightened savages of the earth; obscured indeed with various absurdities, and oftentimes darkened with a vail of superstition which can only be pierced with the utmost difficulty. Perhaps these wounds which the unenlightened Charaibee inflicted upon himself, might arise from a full conviction that some expiation was necessary to render the deity he addressed propitious to mortals, and that this expiation could be effected by nothing short of human blood.

However obscure these hints may be in themselves, they seem to insinuate that God has sown in the human heart some fair conceptions of the necessity of a mediatorial sacrifice for sin. This sacrifice we behold fully accomplished in the person of Jesus Christ, and revealed in that blessed gospel which he has in infinite mercy given to instruct us in the things which make for our everlasting peace. By the light of this Sun of Righteousness, we discover the origin of those realities which the unenlightened Charaibee could never develop; we behold that while God is infinite in mercy, he is inexorably just; and we learn how he can be just, even while he is the justifier of him that believes in Jesus. In the person of him whose infinite love induced him to make his soul an offering for sin, we may see mercy and truth meeting together, and righteousness and peace saluting each other with an holy kiss. Through the expiatory sacrifice of the Saviour, all is harmonious, all is clear; all is unfolded, and all is just; and we have an extensive prospect of unutterable beauty, so opening upon the faithful soul, as to excite its warmest gratitude in time; and such as will burst upon it with inconceivable glory beyond the grave, and bind it in rapturous adoration through eternity.

Besides those confused notions of the being and worship of a God, which these benighted Charaibees entertained, there is another distinguishing feature to be observed, which is inseparable from what we have stated—their notion of retribution in a future state.

Perhaps in the darkest condition of mankind some faint glimmerings of an hereafter, have given animation to human hopes. It seems to be a principle implanted more or less in the breasts of all mankind by that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and therefore universally

prevails, except where it is eradicated by the basest kind of sophism. If these strong intimations are only calculated to flatter and betray us, no phenomenon that ever existed, can be more unaccountable than this deception. The feelings of mankind demonstrate the prevalency of this sentiment; but not all the philosophy in the world can account for the deception, admitting that we are in this point imposed upon with a lie. Even the difficulties which will attend the supposition of its being false, will become corroborating evidences in favour of its truth, and assist us in this important article of our faith.

The views of the Charaibees concerning a future state, like the notions which were entertained by them on other important subjects, were obscured by superstition, and sensualized by the predominancy of their passions: but that they believed the fact, will admit of no dispute. The rewards and punishments of another life seem however to have depended upon that courage or cowardice which they manifested in their present state. These appear to be the principal actions which could extend their influence beyond the grave.

To the heroic and enterprising they assigned an abode, somewhat similar to the elysium of the ancient heathens. In this region they fondly imagined that they should meet their departed friends and heroes, who even now were continually hovering around them, observing their actions, and marking the heroic epochs of their lives. They supposed that the shades of the departed participated in all their enjoyments, and sympathized with them in their severest woes; and that as they noted all their deeds, their reception into the habitation of the departed, would only be glorious, in proportion as their conduct had been brave. These considerations must have operated considerably upon their minds, and have produced in their conduct, effects which bid defiance to our calculations.

They imagined this blissful abode to be placed, if possible, in a more delightful region than the happy valley of Ambara; it was a country, though of an earthly kind, in which the face of nature wore a perpetual smile, and in which the groves were clothed with a perennial verdure. It was a place, in which the wars of conflicting elements could never reach them; and in which the angry thunders could not be heard. It was a situation in which no tornado could commit devastations; and in which the earthquake never yawns; where nature should be delivered from those agitations, which they beheld afflicting her in the beatings of her tempests and the roaring of her seas. In fine, it was an elysium in which the earth should never languish under the excessive violence of a scorching sun; and in

which the sickly season should never draw her pestilential breath.

In this imaginary abode, they expected the same or similar honours to be paid them, which marked their stations in the present world: in which their past adventures should be recounted, and their heroic deeds rehearsed among the immortal inhabitants of this elysium; and their glories should arise in due proportion to the courage of their lives.

But these crude and romantic notions of futurity were productive of scenes of cruelty which we cannot contemplate without horror. The glories of immortality being closely allied to the honours of the present life, required the same appendages of greatness which had marked the individual in his former state; and as the dignity and reward of the Charaibean hero consisted in the number of his wives and captives, it was thought to be a religious duty to offer some of them to the spirits of their departed warriors, that they might administer to them in another life. The funerals of their heroes were therefore dignified with these bloody rites, and the unfortunate women were obliged to suffer death, that they might wait upon the spirit of their departed lord.* The same views which were

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* The funeral rites of the Charaibees bear a strong resemblance, in some instances, to those which Homer records among the Greeks. We have already observed that on the decease of the heroes, the relations of the dead despoiled their hair, and offered it as a token of respect to the departed warrior. This Homer tells us was the custom among the Greeks. On the funeral of Patroclus he observes,

Next these a melancholy band appear,
Amidst lay dead Patroclus on the bier;
O'er all the corse their scatter'd locks they throw.

And again a few lines afterward the poet observes on the same occasion,

But great Achilles stands apart in pray'r,
And from his head divides the *yellow hair*,
Those curling locks which from his youth he vow'd,
And sacred grew to Sperchius' honour'd flood.

And again,

Thus o'er Patroclus while the hero pray'd,
On his cold hand the sacred *lock* he laid.

The Charaibees on the death of a renowned warrior offered some of his captive slaves in sacrifice, that they might attend upon the manes of their conqueror in his separate state. This Homer says, on the same funeral occasion which we have already mentioned, was also the case with the Greeks. After enumerating different victims which had fallen on the mournful occasion, the poet adds,

Then, last of all and horrible to tell,
Sad sacrifice! twelve Trojan captives fell.
On these the rage of fire victorious preys,
Involves, and joins them in one common blaze.

ILIAD, b. xxiii.

It is true the Greeks burned their dead, while the Charaibees buried theirs,

entertained by the savage heroes in life, shone in perspective beyond the grave; and the animal passions were supposed to survive the body, and to adhere to the soul in its separate condition.

But these funeral honours were not of universal application. Those who had signalized themselves by personal achievements, were the only persons who had any reason to expect these extraordinary tributes of respect. The cowardly and base were considered as degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors; and their survivors assigned to them a situation suited to their groveling views. They doomed them to a disgraceful abode beyond some distant and impassable mountains, and degraded them in that situation to a state of the most abject servitude. They were consigned to labours which could neither know intermission nor end; and were destined to engage in such disgraceful employments as were most detestable in the apprehensions of the Charaibees. The loss of liberty constituted no inconsiderable portion of their punishment; and the companions whom they assigned them for their associates in these melancholy regions, tended to aggravate the circumstances of their condition, and to render their situation exquisitely intolerable. And to heighten their miseries by the most dreadful of all calamities, they imagined that they would

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and so far the similitude may be said to be lost; but yet in another point of view the likeness will again revisit us. The Charaibees admitted a state of existence beyond the grave, and so did the Greeks. The former supposed that the spirits of their warriors were influenced by the same motives in another life which actuated them in this, and that in both situations the soul was alike susceptible of the same impressions. And these sentiments prevailed also among the Greeks, as may be plainly inferred from their various rites of sepulture, as well as from the requests which the spirits of their heroes were supposed to make.

But of minute and diversifying shades there can hardly be an end. Each Heathen nation had its own peculiarities even on sentiments, which, in the abstract, they unitedly received in their essential parts. The notions of the Greeks respecting a separate state may serve to confirm the opinion which I have ventured to adopt, namely, that the belief of a future state has in one shape or another been universally adopted. Achilles, after having been visited in the preceding night by the spirit of Patroclus, is supposed to awake from his sleep, and, after musing pensively, with uplifted hands observes as follows:

'Tis true, 'tis certain, man, though dead, retains
Part of himself, th' immortal mind remains.

And again:

This night my friend so late in battle lost,
Stood at my side a pensive plaintive ghost;
Even now familiar as in life he came,
Alas, how different! yet how like the same.

ILIAD, b. xxiii.

be held in perpetual servitude and slavery by the Arrowauks, their most inveterate foes.

Of a resurrection of the body they had no conception. All their views of a future state applied solely to their souls; and the joys and griefs of an hereafter, though adapted to the sensations of the body, were those in which the body could bear no part. Like every other unenlightened nation, they hoped to survive the grave, and expected felicities or woes in another life, which should be founded in justice, but which in either case should never end. As they had no idea of a future resurrection, they had no conception of any particular period of restitution. A day of judgment seemed to be totally remote from their thoughts. They imagined that the spirits of their departed relations, both cowardly and brave, immediately on their departure from this life, entered into the full possession of those rewards which awaited them, and that from that moment their condition could undergo no change.

Such were the views, the hopes, and fears, of the primitive inhabitants of the Windward Islands, the Charaibees. We perceive that they were permitted to act under the dominion of their own ferocious passions, with little else than blind nature for their guide; and were suffered, though for reasons which are inscrutable to us, to wander in a state of intolerable darkness, while we have been favoured with the light of the glorious gospel. We know no reason why this difference should be made; we have no excellencies to plead in our behalf, nor have we merited those remarkable favours, which infinite mercy has vouchsafed unto us. The judgments of God are unfathomable; and yet we are fully assured that he must do what is right. To consider these Charaibees as alienated from the mercies of God, and individually and unavoidably devoted to destruction, is a presumptuous judgment which we have no right to pass. Not having the written law, they were undoubtedly a law unto themselves, and must stand or fall by some rule of justice, distinct from that, by which, as Christians, we shall be judged.

The God of time and eternity is not an austere master, reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strewed; he will be just, when he shall judge the world in righteousness; and will make that justice which we are now unable fully to comprehend, conspicuous to every intelligent being. Till that period arrives, it is our duty to wait with humble hope and patient resignation, and to redouble our gratitude towards God for that superior light which he has communicated to us. And at the same time, when we contrast our situation with that of these Charaibees; when we consider the great advantages which infinite compassion has afforded us, and the impenetra-

ble shadows which hover over a savage dispensation, it should enlarge our bowels of compassion towards them, and induce us to use our utmost exertions to spread among heathen nations, the light of that gospel which we enjoy. And that they may be made partakers of the same blessings, and brought into the same liberty, should be the earnest prayer of every pious soul to that God who can send by whomsoever he pleases; who has inclined the hearts of the benevolent to establish missions in foreign parts, and has particularly blessed his servants who have laboured in that department of the Christian church. At the same time it should induce those on whom the favours of the Almighty have been showered in temporal abundance, to assist in promoting this blessed work, being fully assured that a cup of cold water given to a disciple of Jesus Christ shall in no wise lose its reward.

In no particular countries of the globe, have the missionary labours been more abundantly blessed than in the West India Islands, as will appear in the subsequent part of this work. And astonishing as it may seem, notwithstanding the horrors and devastations of war, the success of the missionaries still continues progressive, and bids fair, at least in those regions, speedily to accomplish the prophecy, "that the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters the face of the great deep."

It is certainly placed beyond our power to penetrate contingencies, or to say what unforeseen events the progress of time may produce; but forming our calculations of what may be, from what has been; by estimating the future from the past, I think we may safely conclude, that nothing but want of zeal in the ministers who are engaged in the missions, or the want of liberal patronage to support an undertaking so truly laudable, can frustrate that desired result which we contemplate with pleasure, "when all shall know God from the least unto the greatest." These views conduct our minds to a scene delightful and glorious; and present us with a prospect, in which these islands will appear in a spiritual light, what we have observed of them in a natural point of view; to be an extensive garden, planted and cultivated by the hand of God.

Having stated the most important particulars relative to the Charaibees, having pointed out their excellencies and defects, and traced them through their lives in this, and contemplations of another world, it is time to retire from this article. A variety of subordinate circumstances and facts might be stated, which would be pleasing to some, and trifling to others, without being particularly interesting to any. But these minute de-

lineations are omitted. There is one circumstance however which ought not to be passed over in total silence; it is a point which relates to their arts and manufactures.

The art of weaving, though in a rude state, was not wholly unknown to the inhabitants of the different islands which were visited by Columbus, both Windward and Leeward. Their materials were cotton, which they wove into strong and substantial cloth, and reserved for domestic uses. They had an art by which they dyed it of various colours, as caprice or national taste directed; though red or scarlet seemed to be the prevailing colour which delighted the Charaibees. Of this cloth they made their hammocks in which they slept, and the bandages which their females wore around their legs; and they applied it also to such purposes as the internal condition of their huts required.

In addition to this circumstance, they had established among them a species of pottery, which supplied their domestic conveniences. These kitchen utensils they formed from the native clay of the islands. They gave them their form while in a malleable state, and burnt them in kilns, not unlike the potters of more refined nations, where arts and manufactures are carried to such a degree of perfection as to raise such articles to a rank of national importance. Nor were these utensils of a rude and unseemly nature. Like the weapons of their warriors, they were finished with exactness and precision; and would have conferred no disgrace on the professed artists of England. Their materials, it is true, were adapted to these purposes; but still, nothing less than ingenuity, not often to be found among men who possessed hardly any thing human but the shape, could have brought to perfection such articles as required a tedious though simple process. We may therefore naturally conclude, that had their faculties been properly cultivated, had their minds been enlightened, and had proper methods been taken with them to train them gradually to discipline and order, they would not have appeared in such a despicable light, as the pride of those who view them with contempt would persuade us to believe.

The same observations which are thus made on the Charaibees, will undoubtedly apply, in a general sense, to most if not all the uncivilized parts of the human race. They may differ from one another by minute shades and imperceptible gradations, till, from the highest to the lowest, the contrast may be marked with strong and pointed colours. But the intellectual powers of man are without all doubt radically the same in every portion of the globe; and those differences which occasionally appear so striking, may be attributed to the influence of custom,

or some other extraneous cause, with which the essential properties of the human mind have little or no connexion. We observe the same distinctions among ourselves, between man and man. The mind frequently assimilates itself, in its condition, to that of the body; and were we to form our national estimate from the most uncultivated parts of the English peasantry, our scientific character would bear but an inferior rank, when placed in competition with its present unrivalled name. The Charaibees were all peasantry. Nay, they were very much beneath. They had no examples from any higher orders, either to prompt them to diligence in researches, or to instruct them by superior conduct, how to love truth, justice, and virtue. And what is still of infinitely greater importance, they had none to instruct them in the things which made for their everlasting peace. All these circumstances united together, will assuredly assign sufficient reasons, why the Charaibees continued in a savage state.

The influence of climate may, without doubt, be admitted to have in such cases some considerable share, in expediting or retarding the barbarism which we contemplate. The climates which men inhabit, may have a very great influence over the perceptive powers of the mind. They may choke in some measure the avenues of knowledge, and make the soul less susceptible of impressions than in other more favourable regions. But these are but temporary embarrassments, and will not operate against the theory for which I contend, namely, that men are men, and that they possess all the radical principles which are essential to the nature of man, in every climate, and in every country on the globe.

That some defective individuals will be found among a large and unwieldy mass of people, whose faculties no instruction can properly unfold, will admit of no doubt; but these can no more be brought forth to confront a general theory, than the anomalies which we behold in the productions of nature, can be adduced to contradict the regularity of her works. Neither can we justly infer a radical difference from such erratic circumstances, any more than from the astonishing exploits of those daring geniuses, whose actions have immortalized their names, and which history must transmit to nations which are yet unborn.

Such men may be justly reckoned among the wonders of nature, and are only to be found scattered up and down through distant ages of the world. Greece existed many ages before it produced a Homer; and Rome before it produced either a Virgil or a Cæsar. England saw many centuries roll by, before it produced either a Shakspeare or a Milton, a Newton, a Marl-

borough, a Bacon, or a Locke. And the world has produced but one Columbus from creation to the present hour.*

What the faculties of men are capable of bringing forth, when properly unfolded, perhaps we are incompetent to decide. We can only estimate from what has been, and this method seems to be our surest guide. But certain it is, that the faculties must be unfolded, before the individual can commence the man. This can only be done, by introducing civilization among those who are now in a savage state, or sunk in barbarism which is divided from it only by a few diminutive shades. Civilization always flourishes most where the gospel is preached in its purity; and therefore we may justly infer, that nothing can be so happily calculated, even in a national and commercial point of view, to effect the happy purpose, as the establishment of the gospel in the uncivilized and barbarous countries of the world.

But when from the political motives we turn our views, as ministers of the gospel, or as Christians, to the eternal welfare of these benighted fragments of human nature, the subject bursts upon us in all its greatness. God has placed us in a situation superior in this view to any nation of the earth; and has given us the temporal power and spiritual ability, to carry the gospel into distant lands; he has impressed us with its importance, and therefore requires us on this awful point to make our own reflections.

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* Perhaps we may presume to add even to Columbus himself, though in an inferior point of view, our very great navigator Captain Cook.

CHAP. IV.

GENERAL SURVEY OF MISSIONS.

The necessity of sending the gospel into foreign parts—missionaries sent from Spain to the West Indies, to the East Indies, and to South America—the Danes send a Protestant mission to the East Indies—great French mission to China. Progress, zenith, decline, failure and sufferings of the missionaries—causes which conspired to defeat the designs of the mission.

A Protestant mission first sent from England by the Incorporated Society in London—origin of the society—the mission proves in general rather unsuccessful in its object, but ultimately beneficial—the Moravians send missions into every quarter of the globe. —Methodist missionaries first introduced into Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man, Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney, the United States of America, the West Indies, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland—success of the Baptist missionaries, and of the followers of Mr. Whitefield—happy effects resulting from the joint exertions of all.

FROM the preceding chapters, in which the reader may discover human nature in its deplorable state of savage degradation, we proceed to state a few of the most important particulars, which relate to those methods which have been adopted, for the civilization and conversion of those outcasts of society that are scattered through different regions of the globe.

The means which have hitherto been deemed most available, and most likely to produce those salutary effects, have been to establish missions among those tribes who were sunk in heathenish darkness, and given up to the grossest kinds of idolatry. In some cases these efforts have failed; and in others they have been crowned with much success. If however these missionary endeavours have experienced defeats in distant portions of the world, they have generally carried with them the causes of their failure. They have sometimes been so incorporated in their establishment, with secular affairs and the pecuniary interests of designing men, that the primary designs have been forgotten. At other times, though undertaken from the purest motives, the welfare of the ignorant savage has been trampled under foot; and the religion of Jesus Christ has been used as an instrument of traffic, or a passport to robbery, instead of being made the medium of salvation.

That some of these cases have occurred in the eastern regions of the globe, the following pages of this chapter will fully prove: and that plunder and devastation engrossed the place of true religion in the early settlement of the West Indies, the massacre of the natives and the plunder of their territories will not permit us to entertain a moment's doubt. And that this degeneracy of spirit, to which the failure of missions may justly be ascribed, has awfully prevailed over the continent of South America, let the history of that extensive but unhappy country decide.

That the good and gracious Being who governs the universe, is infinite both in his power and wisdom, will not admit of a moment's doubt. He can therefore accomplish his divine purposes either with means or without them, as that infinite power shall direct, and that infinite wisdom shall see meet. But the ordinary method which God adopts for the accomplishing of his designs, is through the instrumentality of means.

The selection of those means must be made by his power and wisdom; and in all his actions he adapts the methods which he chooses, to the great end which he has in view. On this ground he has been pleased to propagate the truths of Christianity, through the medium of those individuals to whom he had previously made known his will. He selects them to sustain a character that shall be suitable to their profession, and makes use of every method to convince them that all their sufficiency is of him. While they sustain that character, he engages to support them; and never abandons them, till they first abandon him. He crowns their endeavours with success, while they act with conscientious rectitude; and frustrates their designs, when they degenerate into base and sordid views.

Admitting, therefore, that God selects his instruments for the propagation of Christianity from those individuals and nations to which he has previously revealed his will, how can the Christian nations of Europe acquit themselves to God, while they enjoy with ungrateful supineness the light of the gospel, and refuse to disseminate it through the idolatrous nations of the earth! Can they, as nations, justify their conduct, while they withhold the exercise of that power, which God, for compassionate purposes, has placed in their hands?

Nor will the duty appear less conspicuous, if, from the obligations which we feel ourselves under, we turn our views to the deplorable condition of the Indian and other savage tribes. From these views new considerations offer themselves before us, and claim an interest in our most serious thoughts. For though we grant, that, through the infinite compassion of God, the condition of these savage nations may not be so desperate, as to exclude them individually from that tender mercy which

is over all his works, yet we cannot doubt that their situation is very dangerous.

Their condition resembles that of men, who wander through a pathless and inhospitable desert, without protection and without a guide; and who are obliged to grope their way in darkness, through bogs and morasses which teem with destruction, towards some place of safety which they do not understand, and which lies in a direction which they do not comprehend. Or if we survey their situation in another light, it is like that of helpless mariners, who are placed in the middle of an immense ocean, without a helm, without a compass, and without any knowledge either of the distance or bearing of the port of their destination; the sport of adverse winds, and of all the dangers of the hostile deep. If we view them in either case, their state is deplorable; in the former instance destruction is attendant on every step; and in the latter it waits upon every wave that heaves, and every breeze that blows. In both cases their preservation is possible, in the midst of surrounding hazards; but it can only be ascribed, in either, to a miracle which we cannot comprehend. Yet such is the situation of the benighted savages, in a moral view, in the various nations of the world; and such has been their case in all the preceding ages which have elapsed!

Can we then behold them in this deplorable condition while we enjoy the light of the gospel, and refuse to extend towards them the hand of brotherly love? Can we partake of those privileges which the gospel affords, and learn, through the sacred influences of divine grace "to know him whom to know is eternal life," and yet feel no compassion for our fellow-creatures? Surely such conduct is totally impossible; it is forbidden by every feature of the gospel; and the overtures of salvation assure us that it cannot be.

Divine grace is of a diffusive nature. It urges its real possessors to spread the sacred flame which glows in the soul, through every region of human nature, till "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God." It enlarges the views of all the sincere followers of Jesus Christ; and infuses into their bosoms an earnest desire, "that all may know him from the least unto the greatest; that he may bring his sons from afar, and his daughters from the ends of the earth."

From these circumstances we may therefore infer, that our own condition as Christians, and theirs as savages, conspire to urge the necessity of their conversion to God. As people possessing the means of grace, it is a duty incumbent on us, that we make use of every exertion to promote that important end. As men in a state of nature, they have a claim upon our bene-

volence which we dare not deny; and humanity and public interest lend their assistance to urge the demand.

The negligences which have marked the conduct of our progenitors, can afford no apology for our omission. The ages that are passed, are placed beyond the reach of mortals; and the generations of former years are sunk into eternity; but millions of idolaters and savages still remain. And though the original natives of the Windward and Leeward islands have little more than a name remaining, yet their stations are occupied by a race of men, whose situation is nearly similar in a moral view. Their condition unfolds an extensive scene of intellectual darkness, and they lay claim to that benevolence which policy and humanity, as well as justice and Christianity solicit us to bestow.

From those sketches which have been given in the preceding chapters, of the original inhabitants of the West India Islands, when they were first discovered by Columbus, it appears that their moral condition was truly deplorable. They were sunk in vice, and their Creator was to them "an unknown God." The strange conceptions which they formed of him, were blotted with deformity, and were derogatory to his honour. They were founded in their own sensual views, and rather calculated to lead the half-enlightened mind to doubt his existence, than to awaken within it the enlivening sensations of gratitude, adoration, and love.

From this condition of the natives, the steps which were at first taken by Ferdinand the Vth appear to have proceeded from genuine policy. His design was to establish colonies among them, and incorporate them with his own native subjects; to avail himself of their resources, while he improved their condition; and to introduce among them the various arts which embellish life. To accomplish these ends it was necessary that civilization should be introduced among them, and nothing was so likely to establish civilization as the introduction of Christianity. Hence he adopted the salutary measure of sending missionaries to these benighted people; to diffuse the light of the gospel among them, as a needful step to the permanent establishment of civilization, and to pave the way for those various arts which are necessary to the security of society. He considered this as the only method which could lay a rational foundation, and afford any hope of success; being fully assured that between civilization and Christianity there was an inseparable connexion.

These blessings must have been attended with habits of industry; they must have begotten a relish for those delights,

which to men, in a state of nature, are totally unknown; but which, in well-regulated societies, are enjoyed in all their excellencies. By these means it is also highly probable, that he intended to infuse into their minds some idea of personal property; and to attach them to his interest by that protection, which his government, if properly regulated, obliged him to afford. These methods would have become a new stimulus to industrious activity; the natives would have been prompted to labour from the assurance of reward; while the stability of the laws must have given them an ample ground for confidence; and the benefits which they enjoyed, would have been a satisfactory recompence for all their toils. Such, even charity induces us to hope, were the primary motives of the king of Spain, in a political point of view, in sending out missionaries into those islands, which the enterprising spirit of Columbus had added to his territorial dominions.

But unfortunately for the unhappy islanders, these motives of genuine policy were soon defeated by the influence of insatiable avarice. A detestable thirst for gold took possession of the hearts of the invaders; and soon became too powerful, both for the restraints of justice, and the operation of solid and well-concerted policy. Its magic was diffused through every department of the state; it operated in every direction; it blinded the sagacious, and stifled the feelings of the humane. In a short season it reached the throne, and even carried it by assault. The weak Ferdinand, unable to resist its allurements, became a victim. And suffering himself to be deluded by those petitions which he unfortunately sanctioned, he opened the door to those abominable cruelties, which ended in the destruction of the natives, and which have exposed him to the pity and detestation of mankind. No sooner had avarice obtained the ascendency at which it aimed, than, dropping the mask by which it had procured its dominion, it assumed its native form; and immediately led to those actions which have been described in the concluding pages of a preceding chapter, even to the final extermination of the unhappy natives.

Instead of incorporating these islanders with themselves, and extending towards them the hand of Christian friendship; instead of offering that protection, which, as a nation professing Christianity, was their indispensable duty, instructing them where they were ignorant, informing them where they were deficient, and assisting them where they were weak; granting to them the same immunities, and permitting them to enjoy the same rights with themselves, till all distinctions had been melted down, and all had joined in one national family compact; and till conquest and slavery had been happily forgotten in the mu-

tual benefit of all; instead of these things, rapine, and fire, and sword, and robbery, marked the conduct of Spain towards the inhabitants of her new dominions, till not an individual was left alive to recount the sufferings of his cotemporaries, and to point out to the world the authors of his wrongs.

But though none of the natives of the Leeward Islands have been left alive, the cruelties of Spain are too flagrant in their nature, either to repose in silence, or to be soon forgotten by mankind. Several centuries have elapsed since the perpetration of those deeds which we still contemplate with horror; but such is their enormity, that they still form an essential branch of the history of the West Indies. And till these islands shall sink in the oceans which encircle them, or shall cease to be found in the maps of the Europeans, these villanies will stand on record, though they may be of a nature too flagrant to induce belief.

The butcheries of Hispaniola have been already noticed: and those cruelties which have been practised in the other islands which will appear before us, will accompany the natural and civil history of each. Our subject at present is the origin of Christian missions in different portions of the world; the successes or failures of which the reader will be able to trace, while he contemplates the causes of each in those sketches which will be placed before his view.

To the honour of the church of Rome it must be recorded, that her zeal has been laudably exerted in sending forth, on many occasions, into every quarter of the globe, ministers of her own persuasion, who seem to have used every effort that could animate them with hope, or promise them success, according to their views. It is true their aims have rather been directed to proselyte their new converts to the rites and ceremonies which they had adopted, than to the pure and undefiled religion of Jesus Christ. They have uniformly considered their church as an infallible sanctuary, and poured their anathemas on all who lay not within her pale.

That this mode of conduct has had no inconsiderable share in those failures which have followed her early successes, requires not much penetration to discover. Men who are destitute of European learning, are not always devoid of natural understanding. They see the excellencies of genuine religion, when delivered to them in its purity by men whose conduct corresponds with their profession. And from thence they are able to estimate, when the light of divine truth is buried in superstition; and when its professed ministers, neglectful of their sacred charge, begin to act from secular motives. Under these circumstances they view their instructions with indifference,

and their persons with suspicion; and consider them as designing men, who attempt to rivet those chains of hereditary ignorance which the gospel was designed to break.

Depraved and corrupted as the church of Rome was, even at that period, it would betray a want of Christian charity to suppose that all her friends were influenced by sordid and impure motives. In the darkest ages which Christianity has known, God has had some individuals who have not bowed the knee to Baal. They have, according to their knowledge and education, retained their attachments to the cause of Jesus Christ, while they have been encircled with superstitions. It is not for man to censure the motives of man, while every branch of his conduct appears in unison with his profession, and demonstrates that his actions are guided by conscientiousness in all his ways. His principles may be erroneous in a variety of subordinate particulars, while his piety may remain unimpeached.

It appears by Herrara, the Spanish historian of the voyages and conquests of the Castillians in the West Indies, that Ferdinand and Isabella, from motives of truly Christian piety and zeal for the conversion of the Indians, in their new colonies of Hispaniola, Jamaica and Cuba, sent out several monks of the order of Dominicans, to instruct the natives in the doctrines of Christianity, to preach to them, and to administer the sacraments according to the superstitious rites of the Roman Catholic church. It is not ascertained at what period they commenced these religious offices; but as early as the year 1503, we find instructions from these sovereigns to the governor of Hispaniola, that he should oblige the caciques or Indian chiefs to send a certain number of Indians to work in the gold mines, and in cultivating the ground, and that on Sundays and festivals they should assemble to hear mass, and to be instructed in the Christian faith, in the villages of their respective districts. And in 1511, such a progress had been made in proselyting the Indians, that more missionaries were sent from Seville in the capacity of secular priests, who were strictly enjoined to use all possible diligence to instruct the children of the natives. Those who embraced Roman Catholicism, and did not apostatize, as was frequently the case, were treated with peculiar indulgence; and only one-third of the number appointed, were obliged to work in the mines. It was about this time likewise, that, to diminish the labour of the new proselytes, the cruel invention of captivating negroes on the coast of Guinea took place; and the reason first assigned was, that the labour of one negro was more beneficial than that of four West Indians.

In 1524, the king of Spain continuing his ardour for the con-

version of the Heathen, granted the sum of two thousand crowns to build a monastery for the Dominicans of Hispaniola; and he commanded the bishop of the island of Ferdinand to reside on the spot, because the administration of the sacraments, owing to his non-residence, had not been duly performed. At the same time, he enjoined the generals of the orders of St. Francis and of St. Dominick to send preachers from Seville to all the West India Islands, and to the neighbouring continent. These missionaries were clothed in plain serge; that in proportion to the superior riches and luxury of the country they were to reside in, they might set an example of superior austerity and poorness of living: every necessary however was provided for their voyage; a hundred ducats were likewise given to each of them at Seville for private uses, and they were to receive eight hundred on their arrival in the West Indies for the vestments and other ornaments used in the celebration of divine worship.*

The next mission we have on record, was undertaken by Francis Xavier to the distant regions of the East Indies. He

* Whether these statements of Herrara are correct or partial, the reader must decide. Without attempting to impeach his veracity as an historian, or to call into question the primary motives which prompted the king of Spain to send missionaries into the West Indies, we must not lose sight of facts.

Admitting the purity of his motives in sending out missionaries so early as 1503, it is remarkably strange that he should be so insensible to the transactions of the islands, as not to know the horrible carnage which had been made so early as 1511; at which time, according to the Abbé Raynal, the natives of Hispaniola alone were reduced from 1,900,000 to 14,000. If Ferdinand knew this, it impeaches his piety and all his religious pretences; and if he did not know it, he must have been shamefully imposed upon, and his care of his new subjects must have been dreadfully relaxed; and in either case he must be indebted to charity for all the apologies which can be made for him after that time.

It is more than probable, that pure motives operated with him in the commencement of his zeal; but that the prospect of gold soon compelled his piety to do homage at the shrine of avarice; and that religion was buried in the mines of wealth.

But whatever apologies charity may make for his subsequent conduct, she will be under the necessity of deserting him on some future occasions. When the natives were so far reduced in number, that the mines could not be worked; and when in consequence of that circumstance, he sanctioned those expeditions which were fitted out to decoy into slavery the distant inhabitants of the Lucayos Islands, he must have been sensible of the devastation. If this supposition is founded on a breach of charity, the reverse must betray a want of common sense. No man can suppose that the king of Spain could be ignorant of a fact so notorious; and even if he were, the application which was made for the importation of Indians from other islands, must have awakened him from his supineness. His pretences to religious zeal, after that period, must therefore be ascribed to bigotry and superstition, which had quenched the efforts of humanity in his breast, leaving him a prey to avarice and cruelty.

was named Xavier from a small town in the Pyrenees where he was born in 1506; and becoming an associate with the famous Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits, he was one of the first fathers of that institution. Having made a solemn vow in conjunction with four of his brethren to devote his life to the conversion of infidels of whatsoever nation or complexion, to the Christian faith; Xavier embarked at Lisbon in the year 1501 for Goa, and preached the gospel there, along the coast of Comorin, at Malacca, and in the Molucca and Japan Islands. But his progress was impeded by his ignorance of the language of the Indians; he therefore had formed the design of going to China, when he fell sick and died at Goa, in the year 1552. Such, however, was his holy zeal and assiduous labours in the cause of Christianity, united with his gross superstitions, that he was canonized by the style and title of St. Francis Xavier the Apostle of the Indians and of Japan. Some historians have likewise attributed to this celebrated leader the first establishment of the Jesuits in the fertile provinces of Paraguay in South America, but on doubtful authority; for their licence from the court of Madrid to preach the gospel, and to settle as missionaries in the dominions of the crown of Spain in that country, bears date in the year 1580, which must have been about 28 years after his death. But it is highly probable that the active genius of Xavier pointed out to his companions, and directed their attention to the extensive continent of America, as a proper object of their missions. But it was not till the commencement of the 17th century, that they had made any considerable progress in proselyting the Indians, whom they instructed also in the useful arts and manufactures. Upon the representations of the court of Rome in their favour, at that æra, they obtained permission from Philip III. king of Spain, to lay the foundation of that extensive establishment, which they afterwards formed into an independent ecclesiastical and civil government. For this purpose they constituted a number of colonies under the title of the missions of Paraguay, each colony being governed by two Jesuits, one of whom was the rector, and the other his curate. Thus a few Jesuits presided over many thousands of native Indians; and as their power and riches increased, they not only prevented all Europeans from settling in the country, but excited a general insurrection of the Indians against the Spaniards and Portuguese in the neighbouring provinces. At length a treaty was concluded between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid, which ascertained the limits of their respective dominions in South America, and reciprocally guaranteed them against the usurpations of the Jesuits. The revolted Indians, whom the

Jesuits excited to oppose the two contracting powers, were defeated; and in the year 1767, all the Jesuits were expelled by order of the court of Spain from South America; where they had maintained an absolute dominion, to the astonishment of all Europe, during so long a period as 150 years.

Hitherto we have noticed only the missions of priests and monks of the Roman Catholic church; but to the honour of the Danes, we have now to record the first protestant mission, which was sent out by Christian IV. king of Denmark, so early as the year 1620, to the Danish East India Company's settlement at Tranquebar on the coast of Coromandel. This mission proved singularly successful in the conversion of the Indians, and greatly contributed to the commercial interests of the company.

No general plan, however, for establishing protestant missionary settlements in foreign parts could be adopted at this æra; when all the means which the power and influence of the court of Rome and of the Roman Catholic sovereigns of Europe could devise, to impede the progress of and even to extirpate the reformed religion, were put in practice. Amongst others we may distinguish the institution of a society at Rome styled "The sacred College or Congregation pro propaganda Fidei," consisting of cardinals and other prelates, who patronized and supported a succession of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and other Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, as missionaries in all parts of the habitable world. Some of them even penetrated into the wilds of the continent of North America, and suffered almost incredible hardships.

A few individuals likewise, from time to time, chiefly Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits, had been permitted to preach in some of the provinces of the Chinese empire; but they were persecuted, imprisoned and exiled at different periods, according to the various dispositions of the reigning emperors and their viceroys.

But in the year 1684, the project of the most extensive mission that could be devised, was proposed to the French Jesuits at Paris, by Colbert the celebrated statesman and prime minister of Louis XIV. who towards the end of that year sent for two of the most learned and skilful fathers of that order, and communicated his plan to them in the following address to M. De Fontenay.

"The sciences, Father! do not merit that you should take the pains to cross the seas, and to submit to live in another world far from your native country and friends. But as the desire of converting infidels, and of gaining souls to Jesus Christ, has often excited the fathers of your order to undertake similar voyages, I could wish that they would embrace the present op-

portunity of sending out some able members of the Royal Academy of Sciences, to ascertain and correct the geography of all parts of the habitable globe; to proceed to China; and that they would employ the time that is not occupied in preaching the gospel, in making a number of observations on the spot, which we are in want of, to bring our arts and sciences to perfection."

This plan however was suspended by the death of that great minister, but was carried into execution two years after by the Marquis de Louvois his successor. The king having then resolved to send an ambassador extraordinary to Siam, this minister applied to the superiors for six Jesuits skilled in the mathematics, to accompany the ambassador, and to proceed from Siam to China; with a view of establishing Christianity throughout that vast empire, and missionary settlements in all its provinces. The success of this plan was founded on the well-known character of the reigning emperor Cang-hi, a prince of extraordinary talents, ardently desirous of cultivating those arts and sciences which were most esteemed and improved in Europe, but which were at that time either imperfectly or not at all known in China. Contrary, therefore, to the custom of his predecessors, he published a general invitation to foreigners, but more especially to learned Europeans, to visit his dominions. Our six French Jesuits after a long and perilous voyage, the particulars of which are related in the seventh volume of "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions Etrangeres, par quelques Missionaries de la Compagnie de Jesus,"* arrived at Pekin in the month of February 1688, and were presented to the emperor on the 21st of March, by whom they were most graciously received. Two of the most skilful in the science of mathematics, were retained in his service, and ordered to remain at his court, proper apartments being assigned them within the precincts of the palace. At the same time, he permitted the others to go and preach in the provinces of the empire; and a persecution of some proselytes being raised by the viceroy of Tchenkiam, an imperial edict was published, granting the free exercise of the Christian religion, and strictly prohibiting any violence or insult being offered to its ministers.

The emperor now studied the mathematics with the closest attention; and in the year 1692 recalled two more of the French Jesuits, who had settled at Canton, ordering them to repair to his court at Pekin. When they arrived, they found him ill of

* Printed at Paris in 28 volumes, most of them under the direction of Father du Halde, the celebrated French historian of China.

a tertian ague, from which they happily restored him to perfect health by administering the bark, then unknown as a medicine in China; and this providential event increased the emperor's esteem and attachment to them. But he punished severely three of his Chinese physicians, who had ordered that no medicines should be given to him, even when his disorder was the most violent. "What!" said he to them, "you abandon me when in danger, from an apprehension that my death should be imputed to you; yet you do not fear that I should die for want of any assistance from you." For this neglect they were condemned by the criminal tribunal to suffer death: the emperor however changed the sentence to banishment. At the same time he rewarded the Jesuits by making them a present of a house within the first enclosure of his palace, which had formerly belonged to a mandarin who had been governor to the hereditary prince. The four following missionaries took possession of this new habitation in the month of July 1698, viz. the fathers Gerbillon, Bouvet, De Visdelore and De Fontenay. The tribunal of architects was ordered to make every reparation and addition they might require: accordingly they contrived to have a commodious chapel, in which service was regularly performed, and a sermon preached on the Lord's day, and on the usual festivals of the Romish church. Several proselytes were baptized, many of whom brought their idols, and threw them with great contempt upon the benches and tables of the chapel. A colonel of the emperor's household, a Tartar, and related to the royal family, was publicly baptized in the chapel. From these beginnings, Roman Catholicism gained ground daily, and, instead of persecution, met with a most favourable reception. The emperor likewise sent some rich presents the following year by Father Bouvet to the king of France, and charged him to inform that monarch of the favours he had conferred on his associates. Thus encouraged, this zealous Jesuit, on his arrival in his native country, made such an advantageous report of the flourishing state of the Chinese mission, that a frigate was ordered to be equipped; suitable presents were prepared and put on board for the emperor, and several new missionaries embarked with him on his return. After a prosperous voyage, they arrived at Canton, and were received there in the most distinguished manner by express orders from the emperor; who, in a few days, sent three of the officers of his court to conduct them to the royal palace at Pekin. The presents brought from France proved highly acceptable, and some of the new missionaries were retained at court, whilst others were permitted to pursue the duties of their profession in the provinces of the empire.

From this period we may date the complete settlement of the French Jesuits, and a permanent establishment of Roman Catholicism in China; for the number of proselytes became so considerable, that they were allowed to build a magnificent church within the verge of the palace at Pekin, which was opened with great solemnity in the year 1703. Churches were likewise erected at Canton, Nankin, and in several other cities and towns of less note; and the pope thought proper to send the bishop of Antioch to Pekin in the quality of his *legate a latere*, and afterwards to appoint apostolic vicars and superintendants to visit and regulate the affairs of this extensive mission, which was greatly increased by the arrival and settlement of several Portuguese and Spanish missionaries.

The number of Chinese, of the middle and lower orders of the people, who embraced Roman Catholicism, and brought their children to be baptized, amounted to many thousands; and not only some of the grandees of the empire, but several princes and princesses of the imperial family, publicly professed Christianity. Even the emperor himself, it was believed, was at heart a Christian in the common sense of the word, though from motives of policy he did not think it prudent to avow it.

Thus the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion made a rapid progress in a few years, and continued to enjoy the protection of this excellent monarch to the day of his death, which happened on the 20th of December 1722, after a long and glorious reign of sixty-one years: and with him ended the tranquillity and prosperity of the missionary establishments in all parts of the empire.

Having nominated his fourth son to be his successor, that prince ascended the throne the next morning, and took the name of *Yongtchin, peace and indissoluble concord*; but his conduct to the Roman Catholics did not accord with this amiable title. On the contrary, from the commencement of his reign, the most cruel persecutions took place; the princes of the royal family who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion, were commanded to renounce it publicly; and on their refusal were imprisoned, loaded with chains, and sent into exile, together with such grandees as continued to favour the missionaries. In two audiences which he gave to some of these missionaries, his whole discourse turned upon the reasons which determined him to prohibit the Christian religion, without allowing them the liberty to utter a single word in its defence. At length, a solemn edict was published, proscribing it throughout his dominions. In consequence of this edict, all the missionaries, except some whom he permitted to remain at Pekin, "solely on account of

the utility of their skill in the arts and sciences," were driven from their settlements. Upwards of three hundred churches were either destroyed, or converted to secular uses: the Chinese idols were substituted for those of the church of Rome; and more than three hundred thousand Roman Catholics, deprived of their pastors, were abandoned to the fury of the Heathens. The persecutions thus commenced, continued to rage with extreme violence during the whole reign of this tyrant, which continued about 13 years. But his cruelties were not confined solely to the Roman Catholics; for he rendered himself odious to all his subjects by dreadful executions, and by the severity of his internal government; insomuch that his death, which happened in 1735, was secretly regarded as a joyful event, though the usual ceremonies of a public mourning, and other marks of regret, were solemnly observed by all orders of the people; and more especially by the missionaries at Pekin, who from the mild and benevolent character of his son Kien Long, or *God's gift*, had conceived the most flattering expectations of the revival of those times, when Roman Catholicism was in the most flourishing state throughout the Chinese empire.

But they soon experienced a fatal reverse, which blasted all their hopes. A petition, in which all the ancient calumnies against Christianity and its ministers and professors were revived, was secretly presented to the new emperor, and supported by the opinions of the four regents whom his majesty had appointed to govern the empire during the time of his mourning for the death of his father. The emperor having confirmed their deliberations, the constancy of the Tartar proselytes was immediately put to the severest trials by new persecutions. And although the emperor, when he took the reins of government into his own hands, received favourably a memorial refuting the former accusations against them, and issued temporary orders to suspend the persecutions in different provinces of the empire, he afterwards threw off the mask, openly avowed his determination to prevent the future promulgation of Christian doctrines; and connived at the cruelties committed by the viceroys, the mandarins, and the criminal tribunals; by whose sentences, the missionaries, their catechists, the native Chinese who had been long since proselyted, and were now so thoroughly instructed as to become teachers and assistants to the missionaries in preaching and in gaining new proselytes, were imprisoned, interrogated, tortured, and put to death. And in the province of Fokien, a Roman Catholic bishop and four Chinese proselytes were beheaded, and a catechist was strangled in prison, in consequence of the em-

peror's confirmation of the proceedings of the viceroy and the mandarins. Four Dominicans, companions of the prelate, were detained in prison three months after his execution, and then privately strangled; as were two Jesuits in the province of Kiangsi, the one an Italian, the other a Portuguese.

Independent of the general persecution which extended to all parts of the Chinese empire, another, no less cruel, broke out in the kingdom of Tonching and Cochin-china, which made formerly one of the most considerable provinces of China; but being at too great a distance from Pekin, the complaints of the people against the tyrannical government of the viceroys, who were vested with sovereign authority, never reached the ears of the reigning emperors. At length, unable any longer to bear the galling yoke, they suddenly emancipated themselves, by putting the existing viceroy to death, and electing a king of their own nation, who governed them with moderation and equity. The Chinese government commenced a war against the new king, who defended his subjects with such extraordinary valour and ability, that he obliged the Chinese to consent to a disgraceful peace; by which the independence of Tonquin and Cochin-china, as one united kingdom, was acknowledged; but upon this express condition, that the king should send a solemn embassy every three years to the emperor of China, which the Chinese vainly denominated a tribute. The war being thus successfully terminated, the king retired to one of his country palaces: and that he might enjoy unmolested a life of indolence, and abandon himself to voluptuous pleasures, he confided the government of his newly acquired dominions to one of the grandees of his court. This ambitious nobleman availing himself of the absence of his sovereign, seized on the throne; and acquiring the love and esteem of the people, he, in a short time, made himself master of the four principal provinces; expelled his sovereign, and obliged him to take refuge in the southern districts, where he suffered him to remain undisturbed. The fugitive prince seeing the authority of a rebellious subject so firmly established, that he had no hopes of recovering the whole, contented himself with this portion of his former domains, and formed a separate kingdom called Conching-china.

In the former kingdom of Tonquin, Roman Catholicism had been preached by Baldinotti, a Tuscan Jesuit, as early as the year 1626, who being joined soon after by other Jesuits from Europe, by their united labours they formed a considerable settlement in the short space of four years. But the heathen priests were so much alarmed at their success, that these Jesuits were arrested and sent to Macao. Other missionaries,

however, consisting of different religious orders, in process of time established a numerous and flourishing settlement; for they reckoned in the four principal provinces no less than twenty-four thousand proselytes; who, at their own expense, had erected two hundred churches. But in the year 1721 the Christian religion was prohibited by a public edict; and the missionaries and other professors of Christianity were sought for in all parts, imprisoned, and many of them put to death. Yet, such was the zeal of the religious orders at this æra, that no accounts of the dangers, sufferings, or even martyrdom of their brethren, could prevent a succession of missionaries from engaging in the same cause. For on the repeated solicitations of the Roman Catholics in Tonquin, secretly transmitted to Europe, several Jesuits came to Macao with an intention to go to their relief; but the difficulty of procuring a passage thither, detained them a considerable time; for they could not cross the province of Quantong, the boundary of Tonquin, since the missionaries in China and their disciples had been banished from Canton, and transported to Macao. The voyage by sea was nearly as impracticable, on account of the great danger of being taken by the Chinese cruisers, whose commanders had the strictest orders not to suffer any European to be set on shore in any part of the empire. After various unsuccessful attempts from the years 1732 to 1735, to engage some masters of trading ships, by the offer of an extravagant reward, to land them on the territory of Tonquin, they embarked privately on board a small vessel, at a little distance from Macao, accompanied by three Tonquinois proselytes; but unfortunately, being obliged to pass through a strait between the coasts of Canton and Tonquin, where the Chinese have a fort and a garrison to examine all vessels in their passage, they could not escape the vigilance of the soldiers who visited their bark, and discovered the Jesuits, though most carefully concealed. They were instantly taken on shore, and conducted to the tribunal of the mandarin at arms, who obliged them to submit to a long interrogatory examination, after which he confined them in a small fort, till he should receive instructions respecting them from the principal mandarins of the province residing at Canton. The orders from the capital were, to send back the Europeans and the Tonquinois to Macao under a safe guard, and for that purpose they directed that they should be conducted from town to town by the officers of the tribunals. As for the master of the bark, they commanded that he should be delivered up to the mandarin of the fort to be punished for his offence. Thus these zealous missionaries, after suffering the fatigues of travelling and incredible anxiety, had the mortification to arrive

at the same place from which they had taken their departure, after an absence of more than six months. But this disappointment, far from abating their zeal for a mission which they had for so many years been assiduous to accomplish, served only to render it more active; and animated them to make every effort to surmount the obstacles that detained them from a country they were so desirous to visit. Conversing on the subject with a confidential Chinese inhabitant of Macao, he undertook to go to Canton, and to gain over some officers of the tribunals by bribing them, to obtain from their mandarins a passport, which would enable him to hire a bark without any difficulty at Ancan, and to conduct them himself to Lo-feou the frontier town of Tonquin. Difficult as the execution of this project appeared to the Jesuits, the Chinese set out for Canton, and in a short time returned with an order signed by the principal mandarins, permitting the three Tonquinois to pass through the province of Quantong, to return into their own country with the Europeans who accompanied them. Furnished with this passport, the Chinese soon hired a vessel, on board of which were embarked six missionaries, viz. one German, and five Portuguese Jesuits. After divers perils, they arrived at Lo-feou, where one of the Portuguese being taken ill, another and a catechist were left there to take care of him; and the four who remained, accompanied by two Tonquinois catechists, proceeded on their journey towards the capital. They embarked on board a small bark, and landed at a village called Balxa, where they remained two days, concealed in the house of a neophyte, one of the principal inhabitants of the place. But a banditti of Tonquinois vagabonds, obtaining information that some strangers were in the village, intending to advance further into the kingdom, they resolved, in the hope of plunder, to meet them on the opposite banks of a river which they must necessarily pass over. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, 1736, these banditti, being joined by some soldiers, and pretending to have an order from the mandarins, leaped furiously into the barge, as soon as it reached the shore, seized the four missionaries, the catechists, and the boatman who was a proselyte, loaded them with heavy fetters, and pillaged their baggage. From these wretches they were only delivered, after having been exposed four days and nights to hunger, thirst, the scorching heat of the sun, the stings of innumerable moschetos, and the insults of the soldiers, to be sent under a strong guard, and chained to each other, to the chief mandarin of the court at the capital, there to await their future destiny; which, horrid to relate, after nine months' imprisonment in the common prison, in which they confined their worst malefactors, termi-

nated in the following sentence, translated into the Portuguese language, that the prisoners might fully understand it. "As for you four, who are foreigners, the king orders that you shall be beheaded, for coming to preach the Christian law which he has proscribed throughout his dominions." This cruel sentence was carried into execution, amidst an immense concourse of people, and in the presence of the mandarins and other judges of the criminal tribunal. The sacrifice of these martyrs was followed by that of several neophytes and catechists; and the same cruel persecutions of the remaining proselytes extended to Cochin-china.

From this period we may likewise date the decline of the Roman Catholic religion in China; for the emperor Kien Long continued and confirmed the general prohibition against preaching the gospel in his dominions. But still he permitted a few Jesuits to reside at Pekin, to perform their functions in the three churches belonging to the French, Portuguese, Italian and German Jesuits, and a great number of proselytes frequented them without molestation; because he well knew that if they were denied this privilege, the skilful artists whom he wished to retain in his service, would soon leave him. At length in the year 1748, the persecution extended to the environs of Pekin, where the proselytes chiefly resided, who were commanded to renounce Christianity. Upon their refusal they were put to the torture; their property was confiscated; and their images, chaplets, relics, crosses, and other idolatrous objects of their devotion, were publicly trampled upon, and afterwards burnt.

The mission in the province of Nanking which had been the most flourishing of all the Roman Catholic establishments in China, under the auspices of the bishop of Nanking and eight Jesuit missionaries, and which at the commencement of the persecution in 1748, embraced sixty thousand professors of Christianity, was, in the course of the year 1750, totally subverted. Father Henriques superior of the Jesuits, and father Athemis his companion, were arrested, put in irons, thrown into prison, and carried before the viceroy, who constituted a new tribunal consisting of three mandarins to sit in judgment upon a frivolous accusation of rebellion brought against them by an apostate Chinese. Amongst other interrogatories, they were asked if the pope and their king knew that they were in China? To which having answered in the negative, they were sentenced to be strangled. This sentence was confirmed by the emperor, and they were executed in the prison, in the presence of the mandarins their judges. At the same time, several proselytes were condemned; some to suffer the bastinade, and others to

perpetual exile. The following year closes the correspondence of the French Jesuits remaining at Pekin, with their brethren in France, contained in the xxviiith volume of Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses.

Having given this general sketch of the early promulgation of the gospel in the heathen world, it may not be improper briefly to state some of the principal causes of the failure of the Roman Catholic missions.

We shall not here endeavour to penetrate those secret providences of God, which he has been pleased to cover with shade; and to determine how far the idolatrous worship and dangerous errors of the church of Rome might have induced him to give up to destruction missions once so illustrious and flourishing. We shall confine ourselves to particulars, on which we may calculate with greater accuracy.

The Dominicans, Franciscans, and friars of other orders, who were first engaged in the mission to China, appear to have been men of a meek and quiet character, of great simplicity of manners, unadorned piety, and a self-denying mortified spirit. They so conformed their lives and conduct to the morals which they taught, that the pagan priests had no charge to bring against them but that of an attachment to the idolatrous rites of their church, and that of propagating doctrines which were evidently contrary to the common sense of mankind.

But no sooner had the Jesuits commenced that religious monopoly, which they afterwards maintained in all the kingdoms of Europe that professed the Roman Catholic faith, than the missionary establishments in parts beyond the seas assumed a different aspect. And though the number of proselytes, in the course of a few years, increased considerably; yet it was very soon perceived, that this rapid success could not be permanent; for ambition, worldly interest, temporal dignities, and political intrigues, were the tares which sprang up, and choked the seed which had been sown by their zealous predecessors. Permitted to build churches, they erected such magnificent edifices as astonished the sensible Chinese mandarins; they decorated them with such superb and costly ornaments, and covered their altars with such images and massy vessels of gold and silver, of the finest workmanship sent from France, Spain and Portugal, that the internal splendour of these sanctuaries surpassed in ostentation the palaces of the Chinese emperors. Their crucifixes, and the shrines in which the host, that is to say, the consecrated wafers, were exposed to be adored by the people, in the service of the mass, were beset with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones; and the vestments of the officiating Jesuits vied in richness and external

appearance with the kingly and imperial robes of the temporal sovereigns of the earth.

Some ostensible austerities, mortifications, and self-denials, were the veils, which concealed a life of luxury, secret gratifications in sensual pleasures, and an unbounded ambition. Skilled in the polite and liberal arts, they availed themselves of their superior knowledge to ingratiate themselves with the statesmen and grandees of the court, and intermeddled with the political concerns of the Chinese government. And as religion was but a secondary motive with the ministers of Louis XIV. for sending a French mission to China, they visited the Chinese manufactories, seduced the workmen, and clandestinely transmitted, or carried to France some of their finest arts, such as the art of dying certain colours, and making the porcelain called china; which has been carried to such perfection in France, that the Séve china far exceeds the Chinese, both for the elegance of the patterns, the superiority of the painting and enamel, and the strength, clearness and beauty of the whole composition. The art of painting and printing of calicoes for female dresses and furniture, known by the denomination of chintz, was likewise secretly obtained by the French Jesuits at Pekin: and in the frontier provinces, it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that the missionaries of their order, instead of confining themselves to the functions of the religion they were to propagate, carried on a clandestine commerce with the traders of the Philippine Islands and with Europe, by means of their connexions with the merchants and factors of Macao and Canton.

In the East Indies, the failure of the missions was, in all probability, chiefly owing to the insuperable attachment of the natives to the Bramins, and the then unlimited power of those pagan priests, whose menaces, and the punishments they inflicted on the proselytes to Roman Catholicism, operated as a preventive with the majority; and occasioned the apostasy of the few proselytes, to whom the missionaries had preached, and who had been baptized, and had also brought their children to be baptized. At Pondicherry, however, through the influence of the French government there, and of the French merchants and factors residing in that city, a numerous and flourishing settlement of neophytes, under the ministry of the Dominicans, was very early established, and became permanent.

On the continent of North America, notwithstanding the amazing zeal and indefatigable diligence and exertions of the missionaries, chiefly Dominicans and Franciscans, who were afterwards succeeded by a few Jesuits, an unconquerable habit

of drunkenness, and an invincible attachment to a wandering life, which prevailed among the Indians, impeded their success with some tribes, and produced shameful apostasy in others; which was carried to such a degree of savage brutality, that the missionaries were treated by them not only with contempt, but with utter neglect. And some of these zealous men, having with the best intentions conformed to their uncivilized manners and customs, and followed them to their encampments and removals from place to place, fell victims to the want of those necessaries of life, and other accommodations to which they had been accustomed in civilized societies.

An unconquerable adherence to those customs which their ancestors had adopted, and transmitted to them, outweighed in the estimation of these Indians the inconveniencies which attended their uncomfortable mode of life. To induce them to take up their abode in any fixed habitation, and to forsake the wandering life of their countrymen, was on all occasions extremely difficult. It was a task which required constant exertion, and was never attended with any thing more than partial success. Even in those cases in which the success appeared to be secure, the prospect only flattered to betray; it lulled asleep suspicion, while the door was opening to a general apostasy. To reclaim them from wandering required much labour, and to prevent their return, in many cases, was absolutely impossible. A sudden impulse would occasionally seize them without any apparent cause; and, acting upon them with all the imaginary force of magic, would urge them to re-assume their former modes of life.

Among many others, a remarkable instance has been given by a respectable author, of a whole tribe of these savages, who with their families and children had been proselyted by the zealous labours of some Roman Catholic missionaries, and comfortably settled in the neighbourhood of Montreal. They there supported themselves by selling to the Canada traders the fish and furs they procured by fishing and hunting, and had become in many respects a civilized people. But all at once they deserted in a body, returning to their former wandering life, to their old savage customs, and to the idolatrous religion of their forefathers.

Before we take leave of the Roman Catholic missions, justice requires that we should correct the errors of Guthrie and other modern writers, who have asserted that after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the provinces of the Chinese empire, and the suppression of their order in Europe, Roman Catholicism either made no figure in China, or was totally abandoned; whereas it appears by Sir George Staunton's account of the British

embassy to China, that they found French missionaries at Pekin, and those of other European countries at Macao and Canton; and that the Society de Propaganda Fidei, at Rome, constantly maintained a succession of twelve young Chinese, who were educated at Naples, and sent back to China at a proper age, to preach the gospel to their countrymen. But their ministry was limited to the places where Europeans reside, and carry on an extensive commerce with the Chinese; for the same emperor, who proscribed the general exercise of the Christian religion, was still living, and would not suffer them to penetrate into the interior parts of the empire.

Happier circumstances and fairer prospects of success attended the first Protestant missions from England. A select number of private gentlemen in London, associated, and formed themselves into a society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, in the year 1698; by which title they were incorporated in 1701, 13th Will. III. by letters patent under the king's privy seal; and in virtue of the authorities and privileges granted in this patent, the first missionaries from the established church of England were sent to the then British colonies of North America, at present constituting the Independent United States.

It may not be improper in this place, to state from the charter the absolute want at that time of some public establishment for the encouragement of the Christian religion in those remote dependencies on the crown of England.

Recital of article the first, "Whereas we are credibly informed, that in many of our plantations, colonies and factories beyond the seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean, and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers and the public worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity; and also for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to Popish superstition and idolatry, &c. Therefore his majesty, considering it as his duty to promote the glory of God by the instruction of his people in the Christian religion, ordains certain provisions to be made for the sufficient maintenance of orthodox clergy, to reside in such colonies, and for the propagation of the gospel in those parts.

"And for accomplishing these ends, the king engages for himself, his heirs and successors, to erect, settle, and permanently establish a corporation, authorized to receive, manage and dispose of the charity of his loving subjects, as divers persons would be thereby induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid."

The principal persons incorporated under this charter, were Dr. Tenison lord archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Sharpe archbishop of York; Dr. Compton bishop of London; Dr. Lloyd bishop of Worcester lord high almoner; Dr. Patrick bishop of Ely; Dr. Sprat bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster; Dr. Fowler bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Stratford bishop of Chichester; Dr. Kidder bishop of Chester; Dr. Humphries bishop of Bath and Wells, all men of eminent learning in those days. And the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London and Ely, the lord high almoner, and the dean of Westminster for the time being, the archdeacon of London, the clerk of the closet, the dean of St. Paul's, the two Regius and the two Margaret professors of divinity of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge for the time being, were to have perpetual succession under the reigning sovereigns, successors to king William.

To these lords, and a long list of other dignified clergy, were added the lords in administration—the judges, and a considerable number of baronets and private gentlemen, in all ninety-three individuals, exclusive of the archbishops. And as forming one body politic and corporate in deed and in name, viz. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, they were empowered to purchase 2000*l.* per annum inheritance, and estates for lives or years; and goods and chattels without limitation—to grant leases for the term of thirty-one years without fine—and by the aforesaid title to plead and be impleaded. They were likewise to have a common seal of office, which both they and their successors were empowered to change, break, alter, and make new from time to time. Archbishop Tenison was nominated by king William, the first president, and ordered, in thirty days after the charter had passed the privy seal, to summon the members of the society, to meet and elect vice-presidents, treasurers, auditors, a secretary, and other officers, to continue till the third Friday in February 1702; and thenceforth to be all annually elected on the third Friday of February in every year, by the society, or the major part of them, who should be then present, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning. The society were to meet on the third Friday in every month yearly, or oftener if occasion required.

And the said society at any meeting might depute persons to take subscriptions, and collect such monies as should be by any person or persons contributed for the purposes aforesaid. Public notification was ordered to be made of this charter, and of the powers thereby granted; which being accordingly done in such manner as the society thought most conducible to the furtherance of the charity, the new institution thus sanctioned by royal favour and the patronage of the first classes of the community, met with uncommon success in their subscriptions: for besides the annual voluntary subscriptions of the first members, and the casual donations of many others, large sums were bequeathed to it; and these examples influenced other honourable persons to become unforeseen patrons, and many of them (through the concealment of their names) unknown benefactors.

The scene of action which this society chose for its operation was the British colonies in North America; and it selected for its objects, the natives of Great Britain who had emigrated thither, the negroes who were held in bondage, and the wandering tribes of Indian natives who were living without hope and without God in the world. It appears indeed from the reports occasionally made from these colonies, that vice and irreligion predominated in a most incredible manner, even among the English settlers, and that some of them were so far sunk in immorality and wickedness, that they were distinguishable from the Indians chiefly by their colour and their name.

When the British colonies were first settled, they were peopled from these countries by individuals and independent families, who emigrated thither by grants which they obtained from the crown. At first their enterprize was of a dubious nature, on the issue of which no one could possibly calculate with any precision. Their footing appeared precarious, and it seemed doubtful whether they would stand or fall.

These circumstances of their condition perhaps (though nothing could excuse their neglect) prevented their taking with them any established ministers, and from requesting any to follow them, until they saw how far the permanency of their situation would according to their views justify the measure. In the progress of time, the serious impressions which many had imported with them from the mother country, began gradually to decline, and with the loss of the power of godliness they soon grew indifferent to its outward form. The forms of external worship were either neglected or forgotten; and those hours were spent in licentiousness and diversion, which ought to be

devoted to the service of God. But these remarks are chiefly to be confined to the southern and middle provinces. For it is but just to observe, that the first settlers in the northern provinces were in general men of piety; and many departed from this country to enjoy that religious liberty beyond the Atlantic, which they could not be permitted to possess in their native land.

The society being thus established, and the condition of the provinces known, the first step which the managers of this association took, was to seek after men properly qualified to begin the work. The testimonials produced by the Rev. Mr. Keith entitled him to their approbation. He accordingly sailed from England on the 24th of April 1702, and reached Boston in New England on the 11th of June following, and immediately entered on the great object of his mission.

In the course of his voyage to the continent, he had communicated the nature of his embassy to a Mr. Talbot, the chaplain of the ship in which they sailed, who being attracted by his conversation, and the laudableness of his design, offered to accompany him in his perilous undertaking, and share with him in his arduous labours. The proposal was readily accepted by Mr. Keith; they accordingly landed, and commenced their mission with sanguine hopes of success. The period of their continuance was two years, during which they travelled over most of those extensive dominions belonging to our king in that part of the world, preaching wherever an opportunity offered, through no less than ten distinct governments.

Though indefatigable in their exertions, their success was not equal to their expectations. Multitudes indeed attended their ministry, and the light which was thereby imparted induced many to approve of the truths which were delivered; but the power of genuine godliness, it is much to be feared, was rather acknowledged than felt; they were better satisfied with the baptism of water, than to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. We must not however conclude that the labours of these missionaries were useless. Many were so far influenced, as to sanction the doctrines of the gospel, and to adopt that form of godliness to which they had hitherto been strangers. About 700 persons were baptized in the different provinces; several churches were erected; large congregations were induced to attend; and other ministers were sent out from home, as their assistance became necessary to keep alive that spirit of hearing which had been thus awakened.

The accounts which were transmitted to the society as soon as its general intention became known, induced the members to

send missionaries into South Carolina. A Mr. Samuel Thomas was the first appointed to go thither, who, on his arrival, was received with that respect, which both he and his friends considered as a prelude to his future prosperity. Unfortunately, however, a war breaking out between the colonists and the Indians, blasted for a season all his hopes. On the restoration of tranquillity, the ministry of his successors seemed to be attended with some success, but unhappily, though seventeen churches and chapels were erected, and large congregations were induced to attend, we have not much reason to believe that many were converted to God.

Neither was the mission which they attempted to establish in North Carolina, attended with more, or even with equal success. A Mr. Blair, who was the first missionary sent thither, after undergoing many hardships, was obliged to return to England. Other missionaries who succeeded him, found similar difficulties to encounter, and were compelled to follow his example. To render their prospects still more gloomy, the Indians formed a conspiracy against the settlers, and ravaged the colony, which urged the society for a season to relinquish all hopes of proving beneficial to the inhabitants. On the subsiding of these troubles, they however made another effort, but the missionary fell a victim to his own exertions. In consequence of this, and the removal of another who succeeded him, the whole territory, which at that time contained 10,000 souls, was given up, and left without any minister.

In the province of Pennsylvania a mission was also established in the year 1700. A Mr. Evans was the first who took the charge upon him. His congregations were large in Philadelphia, and the success which attended his ministry induced the society to send others to assist him in his labours. Fifteen churches were erected in the province by voluntary contributions, but unhappily we find but very few who were converted to God.

In New Jersey several congregations were also gathered, and the zeal of those who adhered to the doctrines delivered, prompted them to build seven churches. A church was also erected in the city of New York, and missionaries were sent to Albany, West Chester county, and Stotten Island; but the principal effects which resulted from their exertions, were the erection of ten churches and the establishment of donations for their constant support.

Thus far in these and other provinces the labours of the missionaries were confined to the white inhabitants. And though their success was comparatively but small, the society deter-

mined to make an effort both among the negroes who were enslaved, and the Indians who enjoyed their savage freedom. In 1707 a school was opened in New York for the instruction of the negroes; but through a variety of causes all their endeavours to teach them were rendered nearly abortive. Many of their masters were averse to their being taught, and the slaves themselves treated the admonitions and advice which they heard, sometimes with indifference, and sometimes with contempt. A conspiracy found among them to destroy the English, increased the prejudices which their masters had previously entertained, so that, though the suspicions of the latter were proved to be unfounded as they respected the school, few among them could be induced to join the missionaries in any cordial co-operation. To counteract these unreasonable antipathies, the bishop of London addressed a circular letter to the inhabitants, and another to the missionaries, to prevail, if possible, on the former to promote the views of the latter, and to induce these to persevere notwithstanding the difficulties which presented themselves. Few however among the inhabitants paid that attention to the address which its importance demanded. The prospect of temporary gain outweighed every other consideration; nor was it to be expected that those who disregarded their own future happiness, should feel much solicitude for that of their slaves. Among the slaves of those who promoted the views of the missionaries, a partial reformation was visible; numbers among them were baptized, but we have little evidence that many were made wise unto salvation.

The Indian tribes became the next object of the society. Their case was represented by the governor of New York, in consequence of which an order was issued from Queen Anne and her council for their instruction. A Mr. Thoroughgood Moor was sent accordingly; but, after many exertions during one year, finding all his labours useless, he embarked for England. In his voyage thither the ship was overtaken with a storm, and neither it nor any on board were ever heard of more. The decided marks of attention which were paid to four Indian kings who visited England near about the time that Mr. Moor departed from their tribes, created new hopes in the society, that on their return the door would be opened among them for the introduction of Christianity. On their departure for their native land Mr. Andrews was sent among the Mohocks; but no allurements could induce them to send their children to learn the English tongue. That no method might be left untried, some parts of the bible and part of the common prayer were translated into the Indian language. Few however were willing to receive instruction. The wander-

ing life to which they had been accustomed, had become perfectly habitual; and the restraints which the principles of the gospel impose on the lawless passions of men, were viewed by them with abhorrence, and as a species of that servitude to which they were determined never to submit. Mr. Andrews, finding his labours totally useless, represented the state of the mission to the society; they therefore with much reluctance recalled him from this unpromising region, and finally abandoned an undertaking which had only rewarded their exertions with painful disappointment.

But however ineffectual the labours of these missionaries were among the whites, the negroes, and the Indians, it is but justice to state, that the different governments in their respective provinces, both sanctioned their proceedings, and afforded them assistance. Several acts were passed in their favour, and to these circumstances we may attribute in some degree the ease with which they obtained contributions towards the churches which they erected, as well as the numbers and respectability of those congregations which attended their ministry. Nor will our conclusions be just, if we estimate the advantages which resulted from this mission by the various obstacles which apparently defeated its design. It may perhaps be deemed uncharitable rather than false, to conjecture that the society could produce more churches than conversions; but it must not be forgotten, that through their instrumentality, the truths of revelation were re-impressed on the minds of those from whom they were nearly obliterated, and transmitted to their posterity, who, in all probability, would otherwise have been educated in an entire forgetfulness of God. The Quakers, no doubt, would have kept alive some consciousness of a Deity in those places where these societies were formed, but these could only occupy a very partial extent. In most of the southern and middle provinces, we have therefore but too much reason to conclude, that every vestige of Christianity would have been done away, had it not been for the honourable exertions of this society. The benefits which resulted from their pious attempts we must then allow to be incalculable; and probably some of the effects may even be traced in the present day, in that glorious harvest of souls which their successors have been permitted to reap.

But it is not to these respectable societies and individuals of whom we have already spoken, that generous exertions for the salvation of the Heathen have been exclusively confined. The Moravian brethren have a particular claim upon our attention, from their unwearied assiduity, and peculiar fortitude in the midst of dangers. Their motive, they say, (and for which we give them the fullest credit) "was an ardent desire for the sal-

vation of their fellow-men, by making known to them the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

The first effort made by this worthy association, was in the year 1732, at which time they sent missionaries into the three Danish islands in the West Indies. Of their success in these places we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, when we come to the history of these Danish colonies. In 1733 they began another mission in the dreary regions of Greenland, in which place God was pleased to own and bless his word in a powerful manner. In 1791, they estimated their converts in this desolate country, at 957 persons. These had for some time given proofs of their sincerity, and uniformly adorned that gospel which they publicly professed. In 1734 they established a mission in Upper Canada in North America, in which place they had three flourishing settlements before the war. But unhappily this offspring of ambition ravaged their territories; in consequence of which their residences were destroyed, and the wretched inhabitants were partly murdered and partly dispersed. In 1736 they carried the sound of the gospel among the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope. Their missionary laboured with such success in this place, that he soon formed a respectable company of true believers. To state this promising appearance of things, he was induced to repair to Europe; but the Dutch government, on his return, forbade him to resume his labours, from a presumption, that in proportion as Christianity was introduced among the Hottentots, the settlement would be rendered insecure. From that period till 1792, they had ineffectually solicited Holland for liberty to renew the work; but in this latter year they obtained permission to send out three missionaries. In 1795 their labours were attended with prosperity, and the final capture of the colony by our government, gives them nothing to fear at present from a returning interruption. In 1738 they sent missionaries into South America. Unhappily their successes were not equal to their exertions. About one hundred had however been induced to build cottages, and settle in the province of Surinam, and their children were instructed to read; but in 1792, the brethren seemed rather to hope for success than enjoy it in that colony. In Jamaica they established a mission in 1754, and another in Antigua in 1756; but to the history of these islands we must refer the reader for the fruits of their labours.

In 1760 they began to sound the gospel trumpet at Tranquebar in the East Indies at the express desire of the Danish government, whose wishes were to have Christianity introduced into the Nicobar Islands. Denmark, however, finding that the advantages which she derived from these possessions, were not

equal to the expense of supporting them, withdrew her people, who had already suffered severely by the climate. The missionaries thus left alone, were obliged to have all their necessaries conveyed to them in a ship fitted out on purpose. This continued some years, till on her voyage the ship was captured by the Americans, when the heavy loss compelled them to abandon the mission altogether. In 1764 they carried the gospel to the coasts of Labrador. The letters from the missionaries, though abounding with gratitude for singular mercies, complain of the little fruit of their labours; so that in a great measure, amidst many exceptions, they have been constrained to say, "All day long we have stretched forth our hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people." In 1765 their missionaries reached Barbadoes; but, alas! their prospects afforded little to flatter hope. Their successes will be briefly recited in the history of that island.

In the same year, 1765, some missionaries belonging to this society travelled into Russian Asia, to carry the gospel to these remnants, as it were, of human nature. With a view of bringing the gospel to the Calmuck Tartars, a settlement was formed on the banks of the Wolga. "Hitherto," they observe, "no success has attended the brethren's labours, though their exertions have been great and persevering, equal to those of any of our missionaries in other countries. Some brethren even resided for a considerable time among the Calmucks, conforming to their manner of living in tents, and accompanying them whenever they moved their camp. They omitted no opportunity of preaching to them Jesus, and directing them from their numberless idols, to the true God, and the only way to life and happiness; but though they were heard and treated with civility, no impression could be made upon the poor Heathen. At last the greater part of the Calmucks quitted these parts. Meanwhile the brethren were visited by the German colonists living on the Wolga; and, through God's blessing, societies were formed, and gospel ministers provided for most of the colonies by their instrumentality. Thus the mission has answered a very blessed purpose." The above account was published in 1796.

In 1775 they began another mission in Saint Christopher's, and in 1789 another was attempted in Tobago. Of their successes and disappointments in these places we shall speak hereafter, when we come to give the history of these islands. In addition to all the above places they have attempted to carry the gospel into other portions of the earth, but without being able to accomplish their purposes. In 1735 missionaries were sent to the Laplanders and Samoiedes, but their exertions were ren-

dered abortive through the savage manners of the natives. In 1737, and again in 1768, they made an effort on the coast of Guinea, but with no better success. Neither were their endeavours more conformable to their wishes in their attempts to introduce the gospel among the negroes in Georgia in 1738, and among the slaves in Algiers in 1739. In 1740 they sent missionaries to Ceylon; in 1747 to Persia, and in 1752 to Egypt; but unhappily these attempts did little more than convince them that they had done their duty, and shew to the Christian world the extreme depravity of the human heart.

But though these united brethren have been unsuccessful in many places, in others God has blessed their labours in a most abundant manner, and given them many precious souls for their hire. Among the outcasts of society their labours have been particularly useful; but, alas! though we might enumerate thousands, they can bear no proportion to the millions of human beings who wander between Terra del Fuego and Baffin's Bay. In these extensive countries an illimitable field lies open, and invites the exertions of all who love the cause of Jesus Christ. The Moravian brethren have set a most noble example of piety, fortitude, and perseverance, and God on the whole has crowned their endeavours with much success.

The rise and progress of Methodism in England are too well known to need in this place any observations; we shall therefore only briefly trace its introduction into other parts. It was early in the year 1747, that a Mr. Williams, a preacher in the Methodist connexion, went to Ireland, and soon formed a small society in Dublin. That eminent servant of God, the Rev. John Wesley, on hearing of his success, soon followed him thither, and reached the city on the 9th of August. He found a people ready to receive the gospel, and on his return to England sent a Mr. Trembath to assist Mr. Williams. These ministers, together with Mr. Charles Wesley, preached the gospel with such success, that other preachers were sent the following year to extend their sphere of action. In succeeding years circuits were formed in various parts of the kingdom, and chapels were erected in such places as had received the word with most apparent benefit. In the province of Ulster the benignant light of religion was carried to those villages and cottages, which, prior to this period, had never known its cheering rays. The opposition which the preachers met with in many places, was both afflictive and powerful; but nothing was permitted ultimately to impede their progress: thousands were called from darkness to light, and were soon enabled to rejoice in the God of their salvation. From these small beginnings so greatly has God blessed their endeavours, that in the year 1807

the members of society in that part of the united kingdom amounted to 24,560.

In the year 1751 Mr. John Wesley, accompanied by Mr. Christopher Hopper, visited Scotland at the request of colonel Galatan. Finding some pleasing prospects, he was induced to leave Mr. Hopper behind him, to pursue those openings which Providence had made. In 1753 Scotland was again visited by Mr. Wesley; again in 1757; and again in 1761. During these periods he found, that though several respectable societies had been formed, the number of members was not equal to what, from the progress of religion in England, he had been taught to expect. In subsequent years the word delivered took a more general spread; but, from the genius and acquired habits of the people, their prevailing prejudices still remain unconquered, so that not more than 1500 have submitted to the discipline of the Methodists; though we have reason to believe that many thousands more have been converted to God through the instrumentality of the preachers.

They have been much more successful in their mission which was established in the Isle of Man in 1775. In this year a Mr. Crook first preached among the inhabitants, and was violently opposed; but perseverance surmounted every obstacle; the word of God ran and was glorified; a very respectable society and some attentive congregations were soon raised; and the Head of the church continues to favour them with his blessing in an abundant manner even to the present day.

In the year 1785 the island of Jersey was visited by Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq. and in 1786 by Mr. Adam Clarke. In this place they met with much persecution, but the gospel finally prevailed.

From Jersey they proceeded to Guernsey, and in 1787 to Alderney. In these islands, after encountering much opposition, they laid the foundation of a church which has gradually augmented to the present time. The number of members in these islands amounted, in 1807, to 973.

In the year 1763 several members belonging to the Methodist societies emigrated both from England and Ireland, and finally settled in various parts of America. Shortly after this, Mr. Emery and another, two local preachers, went from Ireland, and began to preach the gospel, the one at New York, the other in Frederick county in Maryland, and prosperity attended their labours. These men were soon found by a Mr. Webb, a lieutenant in our army, who, regardless of the contempt of his fellow officers, began to call sinners to repentance both at New York and at Philadelphia. And so great was their joint success, that with the assistance of their friends, they erected a

chapel in New York. This was the first chapel which belonged to the Methodists on this vast continent.

Stimulated by these successes, they importuned Mr. Wesley to send missionaries to pursue the openings which had thus been made. Mr. Boardman and Mr. Pilmoor were sent accordingly, who landed at Philadelphia in 1769. The gospel continuing to spread, further assistance became necessary; this also was requested; and in 1771 Mr. Thomas Rankin, and after him Mr. Francis Asbury, were sent to spread the Redeemer's name. In 1773 an addition was made to their numbers, and God was pleased to bless their labours in an almost unexampled manner. At this time they had on the continent nearly 1000 members in their societies, of whom six or seven were become preachers. About 1776, the number of members amounted to 7000, and their preachers to 40. The Blacks also had received the good word of life; and great numbers among them had experienced that it was the power of God to the salvation of their souls: these are not included in the above account.

The war, which at this time had broken out between the mother country and her colonies, impeded the work in a considerable manner, and for some time shut up nearly all communication. The distresses to which both the societies and preachers were exposed, were very terrible. The clergy abandoned their flocks; and in many instances the British missionaries, following their example, forsook their spheres of action. Mr. Asbury alone, unterrified by the threatening sword, remained in his station,—

> "Among the faithless, faithful only he;
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal,
> Nor number, nor example, with him wrought."

Though surrounded by dangers on every side, his vigour increased as the fortitude of his colleagues declined; and, under the blessing of Providence, it was to his unwearied exertions that the work was kept alive, while thousands both of its friends and enemies fell. But whatever impediments the work of God might have experienced, the societies increased amidst the partial desertions of their friends and the horrors of war. When the author visited the continent on the restoration of peace, their numbers amounted to 14,000. In 1794 these had increased to 51,416 whites, and 16,227 blacks. Among these were employed 400 itinerants, besides several hundreds of local preachers. From their last statement in 1807, the numbers in society were as follows—whites 114,727; coloured people and blacks 29,863: total, 144,590.

It was in 1760 that Mr. Nathanael Gilbert, who heard the

gospel in England, repaired to Antigua. He saw his fellow-creatures buried in sin; and, though speaker of the House of Assembly, he first collected a few persons in his own house for exhortation and prayer, and at length publicly preached the gospel to the slaves. Amidst torrents of reproach, he persevered till he had formed a society of nearly 200, who, from seeking death in the error of their ways, had now begun to seek the favour of God. Death however soon terminated his state of probation, and his little flock was left as sheep without a shepherd. Several years after Mr. Gilbert's death, Mr. John Baxter, a leader in Mr. Wesley's society, went from Chatham to Antigua to work in his majesty's yard in that island. Devoting his leisure hours to the publication of the gospel, he soon gathered a society of 1000 members, some of whom had retained the impressions which they had received from Mr. Gilbert's ministry. In 1786, four missionaries, one of whom was the author himself, bound in the first instance for the continent of America, were driven by the violence of storms to this island, from which place they visited others, and thus became the early instruments in the hand of God of furthering that blessed work which forms a prominent feature in this history. The numbers in society in 1807 through these islands, amounted to 261 whites, and 12,898 coloured people and blacks; in all, 13,159; besides perhaps one hundred thousand, who regularly attended the preaching of the gospel. But for the particulars and vicissitudes which have occurred, we refer to the history of each island.

At Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa the Methodists have also attempted to establish a mission; but it has been less successful than one they have instituted in Nova Scotia; in which colony, in 1807, there were 910 members. In Newfoundland, through the preaching of the word, 508 have joined the society; and 40 have declared for God on the Rock of Gibraltar.*

That God has blessed the labours of the Methodist missionaries on the western continent, and in the West India Islands, is obvious from the preceding general statement. We do not indeed presume to institute that in all these vast numbers which constitute the Methodist societies, all are equally pious. Many

* We might here lay before the reader a minute account of the very successful missions established by the Methodists within these few years among the Roman Catholics in Ireland and the Welch in Wales in their own language. But we are fearful of swelling out our history with subjects which do not immediately belong to it, though in themselves of high importance in a missionary view.

perhaps among them may have names to live while they are in reality dead; and among others the form of godliness may exceed its power. But of this fact the author feels himself assured, that the total quantum of piety to be found among them, is not exceeded by that of any similar missions on the face of the habitable globe. Nor does he speak this from mere random conjecture. He has been on the American continent no less than nine times, and, in making personal visits to the various societies there, has travelled probably more than 20,000 miles: this circumstance has enabled him to speak from personal knowledge and observation. The plain but pointed language which the preachers have used, addressed warmly to the hearts and consciences of sinners, is that mode of preaching which God has thus been pleased so conspicuously to acknowledge. And it is to this, as an instrument in the hand of God, that the superior successes of these missions are to be ascribed, above most, if not all that have preceded them, at least in modern ages.

It is the same mode of preaching in a certain degree which has rendered the missions of the Baptists so instrumental in the conversion of souls, particularly of the Blacks on the continent of America. In this department their exertions have been great, and their success abundant; but the limits of our work forbid us to detail the history of their pious and benevolent proceedings. The exertions which have been made to carry the gospel to the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, have been attended with more expenses than advantages. In these regions the most sanguine hopes have been almost wholly blasted; the hereditary vices and prejudices of savage life have triumphed over those efforts which have been made to reclaim them, and, with but few exceptions, the missionaries who have hazarded their lives and abandoned civil society from the most laudable motives, may say, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" The efforts, however, which this honourable and worthy society have made in Africa, bear a more promising appearance; but their whole work in that quarter of the globe is at present in such an infant state, that we cannot enlarge upon it, but must only accompany it with our sincere wishes and prayers for its success.

The labours of the late Rev. George Whitefield, and of those who have either directly or indirectly succeeded him in his pious intentions, have a greater claim upon this short memorial than can possibly be indulged. The continent of America will however record their services, and revere his name, when future generations shall succeed the present race of inhabitants; and multitudes of the swarthy sons of Africa will bless God through eternity that ever he was born.

To form any accurate estimate of the various individuals who compose the several congregations of the Moravians, Methodists, Baptists, and followers of Mr. Whitefield and others, who still continue to preach the gospel, is morally impossible: Their various societies swell to numbers of amazing magnitude. If we exclude the whites from the calculation, and only confine it to coloured people and blacks, 200,000 will not reach the number who regularly attend to hear the words of eternal life —we probably shall be within bounds, if we fix the number at 300,000. And if to these we add, the multitudes who have been benefited by the various endeavours of the Christian nations of Europe;—by the different institutions to which they have given their sanction; the happy effects which have resulted from the undeviating exertions of the Quakers to humanize the world, and meliorate the condition of the most unfortunate of the human race;—the myriads who have departed this life in the full triumph of faith;—and the means which are established through the Divine blessing for the conversion of those who are yet in a state of darkness, the number swells as much beyond the reach of calculation, as the benefits resulting from the various institutions bid defiance to estimation. But it is now high time to return from this partial digression, to pursue the more immediate object of the work. We therefore conclude this chapter with a sentiment which these scenes are calculated to inspire—"It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

CHAP. V.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Situation and appearance of the island—its discovery by Columbus; his sufferings when shipwrecked on it—baseness of the king of Spain, decision of the council of Seville in favour of Diego Columbus—Esquivel takes possession of the island for Diego—conduct and character of Esquivel—barbarities of the Spaniards towards the natives—state of Jamaica and its inhabitants when invaded by Sir Anthony Shirley, and by Colonel Jackson—occasions which led to these invasions—final conquest of the island by Penn and Venables under Cromwell—the conduct of Spain previous to that event, a flagrant violation of the treaty of 1630 *—a remarkable epitaph in Jamaica, with reflections drawn from it.*

THE island of Jamaica, which lies to the windward of the other English islands, and which geographers have classed as one of the greater Leeward Islands, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, at the distance of about 4000 miles, S. W. from England. To the east it has the island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, at the distance of about 30 leagues; the island of Cuba at about the same distance to the north; the gulph of Honduras to the west; and Carthagena, on the continent of America, to the south, distant 145 leagues. The centre of this island is nearly in 18° 12′ of north latitude, and in 77° 45′ longitude west from London. Its shape appears to be that of an irregular oval, intersected by several ridges of high craggy mountains, and stupendous rocks, heaped apparently one upon another. The greatest diameter of the island is about 170 miles, and the least not more than 70. Notwithstanding the barrenness of most of the rocky mountains, they present a beautiful appearance on approaching the island, highly gratifying to the eye of the voyager. They are clothed with a prodigious quantity of trees, chiefly the pimento, which form umbrageous groves; and by striking their roots through the clefts of the rocks, they attract the moisture that is deposited in them by frequent storms of rain and thick fogs. Thus a perpetual verdure is kept up on the surface of the hills and in the valleys beneath by a great number of natural cascades, which creates a resemblance of a warm summer throughout the whole

year, and affords one of the most enchanting prospects imagination can well conceive.

In the general description of the West India Islands, with which we commenced this work, the picture of Jamaica may be seen with some degree of accuracy; and to that chapter the reader is requested to turn his thoughts. But in the different views which an accurate survey of this island affords us, the prospect varies as we proceed. The awful features which the landscape presents to the spectator, arrayed in all the grandeur and magnificence of nature, are finely contrasted with those varieties which the unrivalled beauties of nature display in all their charms.

In contemplating this diversified picture, the mind is impressed with the appearances of the scenes which encircle it; it is alternately affected by solemnity and joy; and feels, as the occasion suggests, an involuntary transition from terror to delight. The elevated mountain, the projecting cliff, and the cultivated savanna, succeed each other in pleasing irregularities. A thousand beauties associate their charms, till the whole becomes extensively magnificent, and awfully sublime.

We have already noticed, that Columbus discovered this large island in the course of his second voyage from Spain in the year 1494; but made no settlement on it at that time. It was only during his fourth and last voyage, that he was driven by a violent storm on the 24th of June 1503 towards its shores; when, after losing two of the ships of his little squadron, he was obliged to bear away with his own and another to this island, to shelter himself from shipwreck. With the greatest difficulty they reached a small harbour on the north side, where he was forced to run his two remaining vessels aground, to prevent their foundering; and was reduced to the necessity of imploring the compassion of the natives for himself and his companions; who without hesitation afforded them every assistance that they could have expected to receive from the most civilized and hospitable people. The cove, in remembrance of this remarkable event, retains to this day the appellation of Don Christopher's Cove.

The friendly dispositions which the natives manifested towards Columbus on this distressing occasion, confer upon them the highest honours. The condition in which Columbus and his ship's company at that time were, placed them completely in the power of the natives. They might have exterminated them at their leisure, as neither resistance nor escape was in their power. But instead of taking an advantage of their distress, they imitated the conduct of Guacanahari, a cacique of Hispaniola; they condoled with them in their misfortunes, and

offered them with the greatest readiness, all the assistance that lay in their power. They supplied them with necessaries from principles of compassion, and administered to their wants without regret or any expectation of reward. The impulses of humanity or of divine grace, or of both united, led them to sympathize with strangers in distress, and urged them to such deeds as might tend to mitigate their woes.

But this assistance was limited in its duration. The natives, who cultivated no more land than was absolutely necessary for their own subsistence, in the space of a few months became restless, and weary of supporting strangers at the apparent hazard of starving themselves; and by slow and at first almost imperceptible degrees, withdrew from them, and refused to supply them with the necessaries of life. This conduct exasperated the Spaniards, who were grown desperate from the hardships they had suffered; and had revolted from Columbus, when they found that the Spanish governor of Hispaniola had not only refused to send him any succour, but, in addition to this inhumanity, had insulted him by contemptuous replies to his repeated applications for relief. They even committed several acts of violence against the Indians without his knowledge, and proceeded so far as to take up arms against one of their chiefs. The Indians, in return, threatened destruction to the unfortunate Columbus, who no longer had it in his power to controul the ferocity of the enraged Spaniards.

The horrible carnage which has been noticed in the second chapter, had already begun to manifest itself in Hispaniola. The conduct of these infamous invaders could not fail to create suspicions in the bosoms of those who now had Columbus in their own power. The natives of the Leeward Islands we may justly consider as branches of one common family; and it is natural to conceive on such an occasion, that they considered the conduct of their invaders towards any part as one common attack. The enormities of the Spaniards in Hispaniola, without all doubt had reached their ears; they must therefore have viewed Columbus with a mixture of jealousy and compassion. As a Spaniard and an invader, they must have looked upon him with an indignant eye. But his distress, as an unfortunate man, suspended that resentment, which it could not totally destroy; and conspired, in conjunction with his address, operating upon their compassionate feelings, to delay those calamities which had hitherto been averted, but which still frowned upon him with impending hazard.

To extricate himself from this critical situation, he had recourse to a stratagem, suggested to him by his knowledge of astronomy; and on a certain day when he knew that there

would be a total eclipse of the moon in the evening, he summoned all the caciques or Indian chiefs and priests in the neighbourhood adjacent to his residence, informing them that he had something to communicate to them of the utmost consequence for the preservation of their lives. Being assembled, he stood up in the midst of them, and having reproached them for their barbarity in causing him and his companions to suffer so exquisitely for want of provisions, he assumed a solemn air, and with great vehemence and agitation, in imitation of their own religious demeanor, he pronounced the following prophetic denunciation: "To punish you for this cruel behaviour to unfortunate strangers cast ashore on your island, and unavoidably become dependent upon your mercy, the God whom I worship, is now on the eve of inflicting upon you one of the most awful and dreadful punishments. This very evening you will behold the moon turning red as blood; then, obscured in total darkness, its light will be withdrawn from you; and this will be the sign of those fatal calamities which will instantly follow, if you continue to refuse us the necessary supplies of food." The savages, terrified beyond measure, anxiously waited for the close of the evening; when, perceiving the commencement of the eclipse, they ran in crowds to the admiral in the greatest consternation, implored his intercession, and promised to do every thing himself and his people should require in future. They were then told, at the moment the eclipse was going off, that the Almighty, moved by their penitence, had pardoned them, and would restore to them the accustomed light of the moon. From this time, provisions were sent to him from all parts; and both himself and his people enjoyed plentiful supplies, while they remained on the island.

The sufferings of Columbus during his unfortunate exile on this island, are more easily conceived than described. Every succeeding day brought with it some new misfortune; he was dependent on savages; had been deserted by his seamen; was neglected by his sovereign; and insulted by the governor of Hispaniola, to whom he had applied for relief. After a tedious and severe confinement of one year and four days, he however found means to escape from his uncomfortable abode; but it was an escape, which only exposed him to the ingratitude of that prince to whose dominions he had so considerably added; and to fall a victim to that power which his discoveries had aggrandized.

Columbus had been, on his return from his first voyage, appointed governor of all the land he had discovered, and should discover and take possession of for the crown of Spain. To this title had been annexed a variety of privileges, which, by

virtue of sovereign authority and public grant, had become his exclusive right. But these rights had been invaded during his misfortunes, and Columbus was obliged to behold invested in the person of an insulting rival, immediately upon his release from Jamaica, the wealth and power to which he alone had an unquestionable claim.

To recover those rights which had been thus basely invaded, and meanly wrested from him, he, on his return to Europe in 1504, made application to the king of Spain, in whose service he had so successfully laboured. But the unfeeling monarch, who had meanly connived at those acts of injustice of which Columbus complained, refused by his evasive conduct to guaranty the rewards which had some years before originated with himself. The claims of Columbus were too notorious to be denied. Ferdinand was therefore unable to contradict his demands for justice; he had not baseness enough to deny his own grants, nor virtue enough to enforce the requisitions which Columbus made; but his meanness and duplicity co-operated to deprive Columbus of his rights, and to give sanction to that lawless oppression which but too successfully defeated every application.

Columbus, harrassed and fatigued with his arduous undertakings, with his constitution broken, and with his spirits sinking beneath the weight of his sufferings which principally arose from the baseness of his sovereign, sunk under the pressure of these complicated evils. He continued to assert his claims without having it in his power to enforce them, besieging with solicitude and ardour the throne of that monarch, who, in requital for an empire and wealth "greater" (as Columbus had observed) "than man's most unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet," had meanness enough to concur in the robberies which brought him to this humiliating condition, and to reject his solicitude by having recourse to subterfuges of which his meanest subjects ought to have been ashamed. In this state of irksome degradation the unfortunate Columbus continued till 1506, when he fell a victim to his sovereign's ingratitude, and the cruelties which he had received, rather than to that hectic fever which brought him to his grave.

Thus fell the great but unfortunate Columbus in the 56th year of his age, as we have already noticed in the first chapter, leaving behind him a name, which even the voice of calumny will hardly presume to blast, and which nothing but her breath can tarnish;—a name which is associated with honours which never can be effaced, and which never will be forgotten, till time grown decrepit with age, shall be for ever ingulfed in eternity.

From a train of circumstances it is highly probable that his apprehensions were well grounded, which he expressed in a letter that he wrote while confined on the island of Jamaica: "Alas! piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much! As my misery makes my life a burden to myself, so I fear the empty titles of viceroy and admiral render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are taking to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmities among savages, where I have neither medicines nor provisions for the body, nor priest nor sacrament for the soul. My men are in a state of revolt: my brother, my son, and those that are faithful, sick, starving and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the governor of St. Domingo has rather sent to see if I am dead, than to succour us, or to carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; so I conclude your highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life shall terminate." The titles and honours which his sovereign had so justly conferred upon him, were too great to be lasting. His elevated rank exposed him to the envy of the base, and the censures of the malevolent: the king to whom he addressed the letter, of which the above is an extract, seems to have caught the contagion; both prince and people conspired to disgrace Columbus, whom they had been emulous to raise; and they hunted him with avidity, till they drove him to his grave. Whether the dread of his future power, or the envy which his glory had raised, tended most to produce the miseries of which he was obliged to complain, it is hard to say: perhaps both contributed an equal share, and appeals to justice were made by him in vain.

After the death of Columbus, his son Don Diego inheriting his father's titles and misfortunes, exhibited an uncommon degree of fortitude and magnanimity, considering the complexion of the times, and the government under which he lived. Wearied out with the evasions of his unfeeling sovereign, he boldly commenced a suit against that arbitrary and ungrateful monarch in the court of the grand council of the Indies held at Seville, for the restoration of the rights and privileges originally granted to his father in virtue of his discoveries and of the considerable addition he had thereby made to the power, wealth, and territorial domains of the crown of Spain. This respectable tribunal, by their impartial decision of this important cause, did ample justice to the memory of the father, and to the claims of

the son, by declaring that he was the hereditary viceroy and admiral of all the islands, and of such parts of the continent of America as Christopher Columbus had discovered and subjected to the dominion of the king: and that in virtue of former grants from the crown, which had not been revoked, he had a right to exercise the same authority and jurisdiction in those newly discovered countries, as was then enjoyed by the grand admiral of Castile; and they likewise decreed that the tenth part of all the gold and silver that might in future be found in the bowels of the earth, in the said territories, became the property of Diego by right of inheritance. Thus the claims of the father were confirmed to the son by a legal process before the most respectable tribunal in the country. But this act of justice only serves to place the conduct of Ferdinand in a more despicable light, and adds another item to that load of infamy, with which his name on the affairs of the West Indies has reached us, and will be handed down to posterity.

The decision of this respectable tribunal in favour of Don Diego, armed him with new powers to enforce his former claims; and he proceeded to pursue such measures as were founded upon the recognition of his rights by that council to which he had dared to appeal. The dominion which his title of viceroy and admiral had given him, extended not only to Hispaniola and Jamaica, but to all the territories thereon depending in America. It therefore included the Spanish settlements which had been made on that part of the continent, as well as the islands adjacent which had been taken possession of for the crown of Spain. But virtue and right too frequently combat upon unequal ground, when they wage war with injustice, connected with interest, and supported by power. In such case injustice resorts to violence to enforce her pretensions; she makes mandate supply the place of argument, and substitutes coercion for law. In the case before us, the rights of Columbus had been acknowledged, and were confirmed to his son by a most solemn decision of justice and of law. The king however, regardless of this public and solemn adjudication of a tribunal acting under his own supreme authority, limited the powers conceded to Diego, and only constituted him governor and admiral of Hispaniola, of which new government he took possession in the month of July 1508. On his arrival at that island, he was much surprised to find that the king, prior to the decision of the tribunal of Seville, had established two separate governments on the continent, totally independent of his jurisdiction; and had bestowed the island of Jamaica on the governors he had appointed, to be subject to their joint authority. Discontented at these arrangements of his ungrateful sovereign, Diego

insisted on his exclusive right to appoint his own deputies to the governments of Veragua and Jamaica; and in order to maintain it, he sent Juan de Esquivel one of his own officers with seventy Castillian soldiers, to take possession of Jamaica before the arrival of Alonzo de Ojeda the governor nominated by the king. Ojeda, exasperated at this appointment, which was likewise considered by the court of Spain as an overt act of rebellion, publicly threatened if he found Esquivel at Jamaica, he would hang him as a rebel to his sovereign.

But the intrigues of injustice are frequently defeated by the interposition of Providence. The ungenerous designs of Ferdinand on this occasion, were counteracted by the Governor of the universe, to whom Columbus in his letter had so pathetically appealed. The violent opposition which interest had raised against the claims of Diego, served rather to stimulate his ardour than to depress his spirits; and regardless of those threats with which Ojeda had menaced him, he pursued his designs under the sanction of the decision which the council had issued to guaranty his previous rights. Esquivel acting under the direction of Diego, proceeded to Jamaica, and took possession of the island, equally regardless of the menaces of Ojeda, and the fate which awaited him on the return of the latter from his projected expedition. Ojeda in the meanwhile embarked, and sailed to the continent of America, agreeably to his instructions, fully intending to put his threatening into execution immediately on his return.

It happened however that the expedition of Ojeda was as unprosperous as his spirit had been vindictive; and instead of wreaking his vengeance upon Esquivel, he was obliged to submit to his rival. In his voyage to the continent of America, he was shipwrecked off the island of Cuba; and narrowly escaping with his life, was reduced on that island to the greatest distress for want of provisions, when he received information that Esquivel was in possession of the government of Jamaica; and, in this reverse of circumstances, submitted to solicit relief from that man whom he had threatened to destroy.

Esquivel, with that magnanimity of soul which every one must admire, no sooner heard of the distresses of his competitor and avowed enemy, than he instantly abandoned all hostile intentions, and proceeded to administer relief. He immediately dispatched an officer of considerable rank to the unfortunate sufferer, to afford him an instant supply;—to take him under his immediate protection;—and to conduct him to Jamaica with all possible speed and safety. On his arrival at Jamaica, he was received by Esquivel in the most distinguished manner; resentment softened into humanity; the rites of hos-

pitality were administered with politeness;—and the conduct of Esquivel proved they were the unvarnished emanations of a sympathetic heart. During his abode in Jamaica, he received every mark of attention; and was only detained till a favourable opportunity offered for his embarkation. The conduct of Esquivel towards Ojeda, could not fail to make a lasting impression on his mind. It was a conquest obtained without hostility; in the former it was an act of generosity, which carried with it its own reward, and produced in the latter a species of gratitude not easily to be effaced.

Estimating the character of Esquivel by his kindness towards Ojeda, it is natural to suppose, that humanity and justice marked the æra of his government in Jamaica. And such is the character which is associated with his name in the early records of these events. He seems to have taught a lesson to conquerors which is but seldom imbibed, and more rarely practised,—that ravage and victory are not inseparable companions—that humanity and moderation can accomplish the ends which are exclusively appropriated to devastation and murder; and that the annals of conquest are not necessarily stained with blood.

"The affairs of Jamaica (says Herrara) went on prosperously, because Juan de Esquivel having brought the natives to submission without any effusion of blood, they laboured in planting cotton, and raising other commodities which yielded great profit." Happy would it be for the Castillian name, if the annals of their conquests in the New World, could extend the same commendation to the other commanders, which Herrara has almost exclusively confined to Juan de Esquivel.

But unfortunately, humanity and Esquivel were both of short continuance; they moved in harmony while he lived, and departed the island together. A race of human butchers in all probability succeeded him, who introduced blood and slaughter among the unoffending natives, and suffered their footsteps to be marked with desolation and carnage. The efforts of genius, and displays of superior abilities, which might have guarantied their pretensions to fame and honour, have been sullied with acts of inhumanity, and they are only remembered to be detested by mankind.

But though in conjunction with Herrara and others among the early writers, and Mr. Edwards among the moderns, we have joined in bestowing the tribute of praise on the humanity of Esquivel, this sentiment is by no means universal. The earlier writers, it is true, have spoken strongly in his favour, and they have selected him out as an exception to his countrymen with whom on other occasions he acted in concert.

But a very different account of this first Spanish governor of

Jamaica is given by the Abbé Raynal in his history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies; for that author asserts (vol. v. p. 26.) that Don Diego fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica in the following manner: "In 1509, he sent thither seventy robbers from St. Domingo (Hispaniola) under the command of Juan de Esquivel, and others soon followed. It seemed as if they went over to this delightful and peaceable island for no other purpose than to spill human blood. Those barbarous wretches never sheathed their swords while there was one native left to preserve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain, and hospitable people. It was happy for the country that these murderers were not to supply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in any island where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not answer the purpose of their avarice; and the earth which they had drenched with blood, seemed to refuse her assistance to second the barbarous efforts they made to fix there. All the settlements raised upon the ashes of the natives, were unsuccessful, when labour and despair had completed the destruction of the few original inhabitants who had escaped the fury of the first conquerors."*

At this distant æra it is impossible to ascertain with absolute certainty which of these two opinions is founded upon fact. Perhaps both have truth for their origin, though they deviate so materially from each other. The actions of antiquity are frequently obscured through extraneous circumstances; and they impress our minds with opposite sensations, by being transmitted to us through improper mediums. We seek after truth in the abstract, without making sufficient allowances for those tinges which it receives in its passage to us, either through the designing artifices of misrepresentation, or the colourings of national ambition or party zeal.

Esquivel, whatever was his real character, continued in office but 14 years, and was in all probability succeeded in his government by men who had been instructed in the bloody school of Hispaniola. He had however laid the foundation of Seville

* On opinions so discordant and various it is impossible to decide with accuracy and precision. The heterogeneous qualities which are occasionally combined in the same character, elude our researches, by destroying that analogy by which alone we can direct our course. The conduct of Esquivel towards Ojeda, evinces a generosity of soul which seems incompatible with that inhumanity which appears in the pages of the Abbé Raynal.

It is not improbable that the men whom he had taken with him, had witnessed the horrible devastations and inhumanities of Hispaniola, and had occasionally borne their parts in those scenes of blood; and therefore might have proceeded to some cruelties on their arrival at Jamaica, which it was not in the power of Esquivel to restrain. But the early historians of these events must be allowed to have been best acquainted with the facts under consideration, and these speak in favour of Esquivel's humanity.

Neuva, the first town that was built on the island, which plainly proves that desolation was not the primary object of his views. He finished his life in the island that he had governed, and was buried at the town which he had endeavoured to raise.

Esquivel was succeeded in the government by Francis de Garay, who entered upon his office, and acted under Diego, as deputy governor, in 1523. It is therefore highly probable that the cruelties which Raynal ascribes to the government of Esquivel, ought with more justice to be transferred to that of Garay and his successors. A train of circumstances leads us to adopt this opinion, and induces us to believe that those horrible cruelties which were then ravaging and desolating Hispaniola under Diego, were not extended to Jamaica during the government of Esquivel. The shortness of his government, and his conduct towards Ojeda, are evidences in favour of this sentiment; and the testimony of Herrara and other writers is another. The town which he had raised to some consideration, tends to strengthen the supposition; and the whole is confirmed by the condition in which Garay found the island, when he succeeded to the government at Esquivel's death.

But whatever difference of sentiment may exist as to the personal character of Esquivel, there is one point on which public opinion allows of no dissent; and that is the extermination of the natives of Jamaica. But fortunately for the Spanish name, the massacres of Jamaica are less publicly known than those of Hispaniola. The actions which administered the fate of the natives, are covered with darkness, and have only rendered themselves visible by the effects which could not be concealed.

The original number of these unhappy victims has been estimated on the lowest computation at 60,000, who in less than half a century were either totally destroyed by the unfeeling Spaniards, or obliged to adopt such measures, through Spanish cruelty, as terminated in their death. The observations which have been quoted from the Abbé Raynal, above, are without all doubt perfectly applicable to the conduct of Spain, and to the fate of the natives; though, I believe, they are erroneously applied to the person and government of Esquivel.

It is more than probable, from a variety of accounts and circumstances, that the infant town of Seville Neuva which was begun by Esquivel, was never finished; but that, through some hidden cause which has hitherto been concealed, it was abandoned on a sudden while in the zenith of its growing prosperity; and certain it is, that another town was soon afterwards built to supply this deficiency. The ruins of the abandoned

town which have been occasionally inspected, discovered evident marks of unfinished grandeur; and the magnificent desolation which it presented to Sir Hans Sloane in 1688, not only disclosed to him that the design was noble, but that the workmanship was exquisite and superb. We are furthermore assured from his works, that many hewn stones which had been evidently designed for the cathedral or some other public building, appeared among the ruins not as parts either of broken arches or of grandeur falling a prey to the progress of time, but as parts which had been prepared for some station in the building, which they never occupied; and therefore this town must have been abandoned on a sudden, and suffered to fall into decay, while no satisfactory reason is assigned for such an unprecedented deed.

These facts, in conjunction with a variety of corroborating circumstances, have given rise to a tradition of which the following is the substance: That after the death of Esquivel, those who succeeded him in the government of Jamaica, entered upon the office under the influence of different motives from Esquivel; and totally losing sight of his views, abandoned his designs. The engagements into which they entered, and the plans which they pursued, wore a different aspect towards the Indians. They were plans and modes of conduct which obliged the Indians to feel the oppressions of injustice; but they were only preludes to those greater severities which were reserved in store, and destined at last to sweep them indiscriminately from the face of the earth.

The Indians, finding themselves obliged to groan beneath burdens to which they had not been accustomed, and which they were unable to bear, grew desperate through their miseries; and gathering resolution from despair, revolted on a sudden from their oppressive invaders, and took up arms against them. A circumstance so unexpected, could not fail to alarm the Spaniards, who immediately taking measures to subdue them, brought the whole country into a state of war. In this commotion the Spaniards had to rely upon their superior discipline and arms, and the Indians upon their numbers. The conflicts between them were many and dreadful; they were attended with various successes; and each party became occasionally the subject of victory and defeat. In some one or other of these battles, it is most generally believed that the Spaniards were not only defeated, but totally cut off; and the unfinished town of Seville either destroyed or reduced to a heap of ruins.

Such is the tradition which prevails in the island to the present day, which it must be acknowledged is not only probable

in itself, but is supported by much collateral evidence. That the town of Seville was most certainly abandoned by all its inhabitants, and that suddenly, its appearance to Sir Hans Sloane confirms in the fullest manner. And we must do violence to our judgments to suppose that this took place without some adequate cause, however much that cause may be concealed.

The Spanish historians, to account for the sudden defalcation which is too obvious to be unknown, and too suspicious to be passed over in silence by mankind, point out to the world another cause. They tell us that the town of Seville was destroyed by myriads of ants. Oviedo says that in 1519 and the two following years, innumerable swarms of these insects had nearly depopulated the vast island of Hispaniola, and reduced it to a most deplorable condition. And some of the Spanish planters who had retired to the island of Cuba, assign the same reason for quitting Jamaica, or at least for the abandoning of the town of Seville, which was much about the same time. Sir Hans Sloane observes that they related, that these insects, like swarms of locusts, had ravaged the island, and destroyed the vegetable provisions which were raising for their subsistence against the future year: and that as the town was incommodiously situated for commercial purposes, they quitted it after this catastrophe, and laid the foundation of their future capital on a more advantageous spot.

These reasons might have been satisfactory, if the town had been abandoned by slow and imperceptible degrees; but they seem insufficient to account for that sudden departure or excision of the inhabitants, which the ruins evidently exhibited to Sir Hans Sloane, who inspected them so late as 1688. Nothing but some great and instant emergency could have occasioned the abrupt departure of the inhabitants; an emergency which we can hardly conceive that ants were capable of occasioning.

Admitting the fact, that the inhabitants were suddenly cut off by the Indians, the reasons why such a catastrophe should be concealed, are sufficiently obvious. It was a calamity which was connected with circumstances of ferocity on their part; and a relation of facts which would have brought to light these hidden scenes of iniquity, was not to be expected from men, who by the relations of Las Casas and others were sinking in the eyes of Europe under a load of infamy which the deeds of Hispaniola and of South America had heaped upon them. The fate of their countrymen, and the concealed occasions which led them to it, they have therefore consigned to oblivion, leaving to posterity nothing but circumstances which could not be hidden, to guide them in their inquiries, and to assist them in their attempts to rescue these tragedies from the shade.

That the town of Seville Neuva was thus suddenly depopulated, will admit of no kind of doubt; it is a fact which is supported by such circumstances as cannot be disputed. But admitting it to have been occasioned, as we have supposed, by some violent onset of the Indians, the period in which it happened is another point into which we may inquire. And even this point, though placed so remotely from us, is nevertheless susceptible of probable and circumstantial evidence. And this, on a point involved in so much darkness, is the utmost that in this distant æra we have any reason to expect.

It is a well known fact, that this town was in a flourishing condition on the death of Esquivel, which happened either in 1522 or 1523; and it is known with equal certainty, that it was abandoned and destroyed before the death of Diego Columbus, which took place either in 1525 or 1526; because he had laid the foundation of St. Jago de la Vega, another town which was destined to supply the place of Seville. The event, then, about which we inquire, is reduced to a narrow compass of about 3 or 4 years.

It stands on the records of those days, that Garay, who succeeded Esquivel in the government of Jamaica, fitted out an expedition immediately after his accession, for the conquest of Panuco, a territory on the continent of America; which place had been previously ravaged by Cortez, and subjected by him to the crown of Spain, but of which Garay was totally unapprised.

This expedition, which was fitted out in 1523, consisted of nine ships and two brigantines, on board of which were embarked 850 Spaniards, nearly 150 horses, and a considerable number of native Indians. The forces thus embarked in this expedition, sufficiently evidence that considerable improvements had been made in the state of the island in the days of Esquivel; that it was rapidly advancing in strength, that his attention had been directed towards those objects which ought to employ the mind of a commander and governor, and consequently that his conduct appears from these circumstances to have been humane.

When we thus take a survey of the expedition of Garay, and consider the force which sailed with him from the island, we may rest ourselves assured that internal tranquillity prevailed through every part of it. As a commander and governor of the island, common prudence would not have permitted him to embark, if any kind of commotion existed, or if any symptoms of revolt appeared. We may be fully satisfied, that every thing was apparently safe and in a state of tranquillity in 1523, at which time Garay sailed for Panuco in America. It is therefore highly

probable that immediately after the departure of Garay, the Indians perceiving the forces of the island withdrawn, as well as himself, seized the advantage of their absence, and revolted from the Spaniards. The latter willing to bring them again into subjection, had recourse to arms, and were resisted by the Indians. And being unequal to the task which they had undertaken in the absence of Garay and the troops, they were not only totally defeated, but finally cut off. These in all probability were the *real ants* through which the town was for ever abandoned.

With this destruction of the Spaniards was connected the demolition of their unfinished town, which from a growing capital was reduced to a confused heap of solitary ruins; and which the Spaniards on their return did not like to repair. The demolition of the town, and the expense and trouble of rebuilding it, might have operated upon them so far as to induce them to seek after a place more commodious for their purposes; and this might have led them to the spot on which St. Jago de la Vega was afterwards founded.

Oviedo relates, that in the month of December 1522 a general insurrection of the Indians took place in Hispaniola, which was, after some time, quelled by Diego Columbus. And he furthermore observes, that as soon as tranquillity was restored to that island, and established in it, he repaired to Jamaica to take upon himself the government of that island in the absence of Garay. It is therefore not improbable that the insurrection of the Indians of Hispaniola in December 1522, might have reached the knowledge of the Jamaica Indians early in 1523, and that the revolt among them took place immediately after the embarkation which happened the same year; and that Diego Columbus might have repaired thither from Hispaniola, to take upon himself the government, and to quell the insurrection which had begun in that island. It is therefore highly probable that the catastrophe of the Spaniards and of their new town happened sometime in the year 1523.

To what species of revenge the Spaniards resorted in consequence of this disaster, we are no where told, and in all probability we shall never know, this side of eternity. But the perpetration of cruelties which is connected with the Spanish name, forbids us to relinquish our suspicions; and a train of mournful evidence induces us to believe, that their conduct on this occasion was marked with such acts of atrocity as stand almost without a parallel, if we except the other atrocities of the Spanish nation. But the deeds themselves are veiled in darkness, and shut from the eyes of mortals; the glimmerings of light which we perceive, conduct us only to the abodes of murder, or the depositories of famine; we look with silent horror on the evi-

dences which we survey, and burn with indignation, and melt with pity, while we contemplate the villanies and miseries of mankind.

Between two and three hundred years have elapsed since the perpetration of those deeds which we still contemplate with horror; but the marks of devastation and rapine have survived the progress of departed years. The mountains to which the unfortunate natives repaired to escape the weapons of their assassins, have preserved some awful relics of their sufferings. There are caves in the mountains, which to this day present human bones to the spectator, and involuntarily carry back his views to the period of suffering, and excite emotions of compassion in his breast. The skulls which have been discovered, among these bones, are well known to be Indian by their unnatural compression. And the bones themselves, as well as the caves in which they are found, conspire to assure us, that the Indians by retiring to these caverns for safety, only eluded the swords of their inhuman invaders, to expire under the horrors of famine.

Without entering farther into the merits of the contest between the Spanish and other historians, some of whom are charged with exaggerating their relations of the unparalleled cruelties and insatiable avarice of the Castillians; whilst others on slighter evidences endeavour to extenuate their horrid crimes; it may suffice to insert in this place one instance among many which remain on record, of the early disposition of the Spaniards to exercise unheard-of barbarities; and a more recent one, within the memory of our old men, that was committed on the person of a British subject in the reign of his late majesty George II.

The first is extracted from Bartholomew Las Casas, who affirms, "that he once saw four or five principal Indians roasted alive, at a slow fire; and as the miserable victims poured forth dreadful screams, which disturbed the commanding officer in his afternoon slumbers, he sent an express order to strangle them; but the officer on guard would not obey the mandate, but caused their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard; then he stirred up the fire with his own hands, and roasted them deliberately, till they all expired; and he further adds, that he knew the name of this inhuman officer, and was acquainted with his relations at Seville."*

* This piece of finished inhumanity stands almost unrivalled in the black catalogue of human crimes. The groans of human nature when in agonies, have sometimes disarmed brutality of its ferocity; and the hand of violence has been extended to relieve the sufferer from his pangs; but perhaps this is

The second will be found in the parliamentary debates in the year 1739, when war was declared against Spain under the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, grounded chiefly on the violation of the treaty of 1630. By that treaty the court of Spain agreed to renounce in future their ill-founded claim to the sole and exclusive right of navigating the American seas. In consequence of that claim they had expelled both the English and French settlers from different islands in those seas; but by this treaty they stipulated that there should be peace, amity and friendship between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain and their respective subjects "in all parts of the world;" thereby securing to our countrymen the colonies they had settled and cultivated at a great expense. Yet notwithstanding the express language of this treaty, such was the insolence and brutality of the officers commanding the Spanish guarda-costas, that the commander of one of those armed vessels came on board an English merchant-ship, and, after rummaging the vessel for contraband goods, without finding any, put the captain whose name was Jenkins to the torture called the Bilboas, and then with unfeeling cruelty and without any provocation slit his nose, and cut off one of his ears, telling him to carry it to the king of England his master. Jenkins escaping the hands of these wretches, preserved the ear in spirits in a phial, and exhibited it in the course of his examination at the bar of the House of Commons; and being asked by one of the members, what he thought or expected when in the hands of such a barbarian, he answered, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country:"* and his country took it up with the unanimous approbation of every impartial and truly patriotic Briton, after an unavailing opposition of a disgraceful minority. To sum up the whole, in the precise and elegant language of Edwards, "Of their cruelties towards the subjects of foreign states, even such as were forced on their coasts in distress, the instances were

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the only instance, in which the shrieks of torture were ordered to be smothered, that they might not disturb the wretch who could slumber in the vicinity of such groans. And perhaps also it is the only instance upon record, in which such a piece of counterfeit humanity was ever defeated through the inhumanity of a base subaltern, who chose rather to disobey orders, than to deprive the dying victims of a single pang.

* "These words (says Voltaire) expressed so naturally, excited a clamour of compassion and indignation in the house. The people of London exclaimed without doors—"A free sea or a war."

"Perhaps there never was more real rhetoric made use of, than in the English parliament on this occasion; and I doubt whether the premeditated orations formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome on similar occasions, could surpass the unpremeditated speeches of Sir Wm. Windham, Lord Carteret, the minister Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney."

without number (prior to the conquest of Jamaica by the English;) their treatment of the sailors was as barbarous and inhuman as their pretences for seizing their ships were commonly groundless and unjust. The very mercies of the Spaniards were cruel; for if in some first instances they forbore to inflict immediate death on their prisoners, they sentenced them to a worse punishment, condemning them to work in the mines of Mexico for life."

But to trace Spanish barbarity through all its windings, would be a difficult, because it is an almost endless task. The injustice and cruelty of that nation towards the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland and other maritime states, and to which they had hitherto submitted, though with reluctance, in almost every part of the American seas, were too intolerable to be borne. To secure therefore to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland a free passage through these seas to the settlements which had been planted, was one great object of the treaty which was ratified between the two countries in 1630. But neither treaty, nor that justice on which it was founded, was a sufficient security against Spanish depredations. The treaty was calculated to strengthen the credulity of other countries in the fidelity of Spain, while it lulled asleep suspicion, and opened the door to that perfidious nation to carry on its enormities with impunity.

These practices, which their dread of the power and vengeance of Cromwell, and of his valiant admirals and generals, had caused them to suspend, were revived with redoubled fury in the reign of Charles II. and continued to our own times.

The modern instances of inhumanity which have been adduced, and with which many pages might be filled, were we inclined to select, are awful evidences of the insolence of power, when it seizes the helm and triumphs over justice. And we learn from what we see, how to estimate what we have not seen. The enormities which have been practised upon the civilized states and nations of Europe, are sufficient to convince us how extensively brutality may have been exercised towards those unhappy Indians, who were alike unable to make reprisals and to resist the force of the Spaniards.

In the conduct of these barbarians towards the subjects of European states, the dread of retaliation might lay an embargo on their thirst for blood; but even here we perceive that it bade defiance to justice, faith and honour. But among the Indians who could neither avenge their wrongs, nor retaliate upon their oppressors, brutality might revel in carnage without resistance or controul. From the circumstances which are before us, we

are prepared for every unfavourable impression which the actions of that nation are able to make upon us. Even in those cases where the annals of their conquests have not been fully developed, we are ready for every thing that is bloody and dreadful. Our minds on such occasions divest darkness of her shadows, and penetrate in imagination those gloomy realities which lie concealed. The very silence of their histories on such subjects seems to echo with groans, and obscurities teem with horror. The convulsions of nature awaken our sympathetic feelings; we lament with the ideal sufferer, and the conduct of Spain, so far as we can trace her actions, justifies the imaginary woe.

But it is needless to create unreal scenes of devastation and horror, when so many that have unhappily existed, swarm around us. The cruelties which we have noticed in the second chapter, which were practised upon the natives of Hispaniola; the Indians whom Las Casas says he saw roasted alive before a slow fire; the barbarities which were committed in Jamaica, and afterward continued toward the states of Europe, discover to us an inhumanity of character, at which our feelings revolt, and which for the honour of mankind we would fain hope is peculiarly their own.

But it is time to quit these painful reflections, and to return to the history of the island which we have under consideration. The triumphs of injustice we must leave to God. They are permitted by him for reasons which are inscrutable to us in the present state; and perhaps are so nicely interwoven with the vast designs of Providence, that our faculties are not acute enough to trace the reasons, if they were to be revealed. We must therefore be content to wait with patience till the day of eternity, when this universe shall be swept aside.

The fate of Seville Neuva, which was either destroyed, before it was finished, by an insurrection of the natives, who defeated and entirely cut off the Spaniards; or was abandoned by the latter, who were obliged to take refuge in Cuba, their plantations being suddenly destroyed by innumerable swarms of ants, as we have already noticed; gave being to the town of St. Jago de la Vega, now called Spanish Town, which is the present seat of government. St. Jago was founded according to tradition by Diego Columbus, on his return from Spain with enlarged powers about the year 1520; and this new capital had increased so rapidly in the course of twenty years after the death of Diego, which happened in the year 1525, that it was thought of such consequence as to give the title of Marquis to Don Lewis Columbus the eldest son and heir of Diego. This title

was conferred on him by the renowned emperor of the West and king of Spain, Charles V. who at the same time granted to him, his heirs and successors, the perpetual sovereignty of the whole island as an hereditary fief of the crown of Castile.

But neither the title of Marquis, which was thus bestowed on the heir of Diego, nor the perpetual sovereignty of the island which was thus confirmed, was the result of generosity or the offspring of justice. It was purchased by Lewis at an exorbitant price, and became his lot as the award of compromise which was to bar all future claims.

At the time of his father's death, Lewis was in his minority, and unable either to comprehend or demand his rights. He was treated by the emperor with the utmost respectability. He was acknowledged by him as hereditary viceroy and high admiral of the West Indies, and had revenues fixed upon him of considerable amount. As Lewis approached towards manhood, he became acquainted with his father's claims which he had inherited as the heir of Columbus. They were founded originally upon grants from the king of Spain, had been recognized by the council of Seville, had been inherited in part by the father of Lewis, and were yet unrevoked.

Armed with these claims he applied to the emperor for a ratification of them in his own person, which the emperor absolutely refused. Stimulated by his father's example, and animated by his successes, he instituted a legal process against his sovereign for the recovery of those rights which had been purchased by his grandfather, and which his father had more or less enjoyed. But the times in which he lived had assumed a different aspect, and the issue of his process appeared involved in doubt. Whether Lewis was apprehensive of the final issue, or that integrity had forsaken the seat in which his father had sought justice and found redress, are points which we have not sufficient information to ascertain. It seems however highly probable that a legal decision never took place, but that he accepted the honorary title and circumscribed jurisdiction and emolument which we have stated above, by way of compromise with the emperor; and surrendered to him his vast pretensions to riches and dominion in the New World.

What the precise ideas of advantage and honour annexed to these bequests made in the way of compromise were, perhaps it is hardly possible to know. We may rest assured that they were of a very limited nature, when compared with what he surrendered; and it also appears by this compromise, that he relinquished all claims to the adjacent islands, as well as to the family possessions on the continental shores.

The impulse of generous justice, which had warmed the bosom of Ferdinand when the grants were first obtained by Columbus, had gradually submitted to the eloquence of avarice and ambition; and the same power which had been exerted to rob the natives, was now employed to plunder the offspring of Columbus.

The Marquis de la Vega (who was also styled Duke of Veragua) and his two brothers, dying without male issue, and their only sister Isabella Columbus becoming the sole heiress of the family, and marrying the Count de Gelvez a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza, her hereditary rights were by this alliance transferred to that family, some branches of which continued in possession of the island of Jamaica till the year 1640. But at this time, according to Edwards, these rights reverted back to the crown of Spain by forfeiture, in consequence of the Portuguese revolution, which placed John I. (Duke of Braganza) on the throne of that kingdom, who could not retain them consistently with his new dignity as a feudal dependant on the crown of Castile.

But while the sovereignty of Jamaica belonged to the house of Braganza, several Portuguese families, principally of merchants who became adventurers, established themselves in this new colony, and resided chiefly at St. Jago de la Vega then in a state of progressive improvement.

But the alliance which had been formed at home, was productive of discord and disturbances abroad. The Spaniards who had previously settled in the island, considered themselves as subjects of the king of Spain; and to him their views were ultimately directed. The Portuguese they considered as intruders and rivals, who, upon precarious pretences, were no better than innovators on their exclusive rights.

The Portuguese adventurers, on the other hand, founding their claims upon the rights of Columbus, which had been transferred by the marriage of Isabella to the house of Braganza, considered themselves as deriving their authority to settle in that island from the family of Braganza which at that time possessed the exclusive right of admitting settlers.

With views so various, and with interests which were sometimes hostile to one another, it is natural to conceive that the Spaniards and Portuguese were divided into two distinct parties, who occasionally broke out into acts of violence which at length terminated in irreconcileable hatred towards each other. And this was actually the case. Such was the jealousy of the Spaniards and their subsequent rooted animosity, that perpetual quarrels with the Portuguese settlers, and political dissentions, brought

on a general neglect of cultivation; and this was followed by a decline of commerce, the forerunner of depopulation. The inhabitants sunk in idleness and luxury, were content with living upon the produce of a few plantations, and with selling the surplus beyond what was required for their own subsistence and comfort, to the masters of any foreign ships that visited their coasts. In fact, such was the unprosperous state of this new capital, owing to the causes just recited, that Sir Anthony Shirley an English general, landed with a small force in the year 1796, the 38th of queen Elizabeth, and plundered the capital, which was too much enfeebled by internal dissentions to make much resistance.

During the time which had elapsed from its discovery to this period, but little is known of the internal transactions of Jamaica. No public traffic seems to have been carried on to any considerable extent: the inhabitants attending only to their local conveniences, secluded themselves from the notice of Europe; so that Jamaica during this course of years had hardly obtained the notice of history.

The extermination of the natives occupied their first attention, and this they soon accomplished. They were expert at murder, but were not so sedulous to supply the places of those whom they had destroyed. The habitual laziness of a people, whose sanguinary dispositions led them to despise industry, must have perpetuated the condition of the island in the same uncultivated state in which it was in general found, when they wrested it from the original inhabitants. The island had obtained new masters, but it had scarcely undergone any other change. It had been drenched with the blood of thousands, to whose expiring groans the mountains had echoed, and with which the caverns had resounded; but its fertility was suffered to waste in useless exuberance, and in the production of those noxious weeds which seemed at once to reproach them with their indolence, and punish them for their crimes.

The town of St. Jago de la Vega seems alone to have survived the ravages of time, and to have afforded them shelter from the heats and rains of the tropical year. A few solitary plantations which were badly cultivated in its vicinity, seem to have bounded their agriculture. From this source they drew what the bounties of nature did not spontaneously yield, and this constituted a great part of their domestic trade. The surplus of the productions they sold to such vessels as occasionally touched upon their coasts, and in this consisted their commerce with other portions of the world. Whatever towns the early Spa-

niards might have raised, this was the only one that could provide for its own continuance. The others were either deserted in an unfinished state, or abandoned through the want of inhabitants to occupy the houses which had been built.

Such was the state of the Spaniards in Jamaica, when Sir Anthony Shirley, in 1598, landed upon their shores. Nor was the condition either of the inhabitants or the country benefited by the progress of time or the improvement of the arts, when it was again revisited by the English about forty years afterwards. It is true, they were roused from that extreme lethargy in which they were involved on the arrival of Shirley, and in proportion to their numbers made a formidable resistance; but the country exhibited a scene of wild fertility, unsubdued by cultivation and unimproved by art.

The Spaniards arrogating to themselves the exclusive right of navigating the American seas, considered every nation of Europe that sent ships into these parts, as unjustly interfering with their prerogatives; and in consequence of that false assumption committed depredations with impunity. Depredation provoked resistance, and resistance led to retaliation. Our nation was occasionally able to withstand their power; we made reprisals upon the ocean, and occasionally invaded their insular possessions. It was on this ground that Sir Anthony Shirley made his descent upon Jamaica in 1596, as we have already related, and found the island and its inhabitants in that situation which has been described.

The continuance of these unjust actions, on the part of Spain, provoked the resentment of our nation a second time about the year 1696, in which the town of St. Jago was attacked and pillaged of all its valuables, after a severe contest in which many of each party lost their lives. About this time, the Spaniards having committed some depredations on our settlements in the Windward Islands; Colonel Jackson an intrepid English officer in the service of the misguided and unfortunate Charles I. sailed from one of the islands on an expedition against Jamaica, and, after an obstinate battle at Passage Fort, defeated the garrison. He then entered St. Jago de la Vega sword in hand, pillaged the town, and received a considerable sum of money in consideration of not setting fire to the houses; after which he re-embarked with his booty unmolested.

That the colony in Jamaica began from this period gradually to decline, may be naturally conceived from the calamity of pillage which under Colonel Jackson it was obliged to sustain. The colonel having taken from them every thing valuable which

lay within his reach, and extorted from them the treasure which they had concealed, to spare their habitations, the Spaniards were not in a condition to repair their losses. They had no commerce to command an influx of wealth, and their lands were in an uncultivated state. These circumstances sufficiently account for the state in which it was found about 19 years afterward, when under Cromwell it was finally attacked by Penn and Venables, and annexed to the British dominions.

Cromwell, when he had totally defeated the royal party, had leisure to turn his attention to the treatment which England, while labouring under her internal convulsions, had received from foreign states. In the conduct of Spain he saw a long list of enormities which had been practised upon British subjects through a series of years, which were too notorious to be doubtful, and too flagrant to be overlooked. Spain had taken an advantage of the civil dissentions of our country, and conducted herself during these internal troubles with a species of haughtiness and cruelty which was peculiarly her own. But she had taken care to make these acts of violence only in distant regions of the globe. At home all was tranquil and harmonious; the treaty of amity and conduct which subsisted between the two nations, was strictly observed in Europe; but in the new hemisphere the conduct of Spain put on a different aspect. Her perfidy had increased while we were embroiled in war, and hitherto had been suffered to pass on with impunity.

But the moment had now arrived, in which Spain was to be called to an account for the atrocities which she had committed in direct opposition to an existing treaty. By this treaty it had been stipulated that there should be peace, amity and friendship, between the two crowns and their respective subjects in all parts of the world. It had been strictly observed at home, but it had been violated abroad; and Cromwell convinced of the perfidy of Spain, demanded satisfaction for the past, and security for the future.

The Spanish ambassador, in the mean while, paid his court to Cromwell, and endeavoured to divert him from these measures, which threatened an impending and tempestuous storm. He congratulated Cromwell on his elevation to the protectorate, "and assured him of the friendship of his master, either in the condition in which he then stood; or if he would move a step further, and take upon him the crown of England, that even in that case his master would venture the crown of Spain to protect him in it." But Cromwell was too well acquainted with the intrigues of state to be diverted from his purpose, or to lose sight of those depredations which Spain wished to conceal. To

the renewal of union Cromwell had no objection: but he could not admit it upon propositions so general and undefined, especially while he had before him a list of grievances which imperiously demanded redress.

Commissioners were however appointed by Cromwell to enter into a negotiation with the ambassador on this business; to define the ground upon which the treaty of 1630 had been founded, and to elucidate such terms as had been either wilfully disregarded, or grossly misunderstood. Several meetings were held on this occasion, and much argument on each side was called into existence. The West Indies were the great object of discussion. The treaty was produced. A long list of depredations appeared, and satisfaction was demanded on our part, as the only basis of a future and lasting peace. The ambassador was told that in contravention of that article which we have already quoted, and which by its express language provided for the safety of the New World as well as the Old, the Spaniards had been guilty of practices, which between civilized nations were not justifiable even in times of war—"That the English were treated by the Spaniards as enemies wherever they were met in America, though sailing to and from their own plantations. And it was insisted that satisfaction was to be given in this, and a good foundation laid in those parts for the future, between their respective subjects, or else there could be no solid or lasting peace between the two states in Europe." This constituted the ground of the first complaint, and contained the substance of the first demand. This was followed by another more local in its application, but not less serious in its nature. It related to the inquisition, from the authority of which Cromwell insisted that British subjects should be exempt.

To these questions the Spanish ambassador finally replied, "that to ask a liberty from the inquisition, and free sailing in the West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes; and that nothing could be done in these points but according to the practices of former times."*

* The above observations are extracted from the state papers of Thurlow. Hume has given the same account with some little variation, and with an additional circumstance. He relates that the Spanish ambassador in reply to the demands which were made by the commissioners, whom Cromwell had appointed, gave much offence: his words were "that the Indian trade, and the inquisition, were his master's two eyes; and that the protector insisted upon the putting out both of them at once." The subsequent conduct of Cromwell seems indeed to correspond with this expression. He immediately fitted out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean commanded by Blake, and another commanded by Penn for the West Indies. Blake cast anchor before Leghorn, and obtained his demands: he proceeded to Algiers, and compelled the dey

Cromwell having received this as the final answer, did not long remain in a state of indecision. Finding that neither indemnity for the past, nor security for the future, was to be obtained from Spain, he proceeded to chastise that insolence which Spain had thus openly avowed, and to obtain for himself that indemnity which Spain had refused to grant. The plan of operations which he laid down, aimed at nothing less than the subversion and appropriation of the Spanish commerce in the New World. A large squadron was fitted out with all possible expedition, the command of which was given to Penn. On board of these ships were embarked 5000 men under the command of Venables, which were to be joined by 5000 more from the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher's.

With this formidable force they set sail for Hispaniola, the conquest of which formed the great object of their enterprise and hope. The town of St. Domingo, the only place of strength on the island, became the first object of their attack, which they hoped to carry by a sudden onset. The Spaniards, on the approach of our troops, terrified at such a formidable assault, were seized with a panic, deserted their habitations, and betook themselves to the woods.

Our troops were imprudently landed from their ships nearly thirty miles from the town, and were obliged to wander four days through pathless woods without guides, without provisions, and, what was more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water, or scarcely any other refreshment. The Spaniards, in the mean while, recovering from the panic with which they had been seized, and profiting by this injudicious mode of conduct which our army had pursued, returned to their habitations; and equipping themselves for defence or active operations, marched out to meet their invaders, and gave them battle. Our soldiers, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, pressed by the enemy, and sinking beneath the calamities of hunger, thirst and fatigue, were but badly prepared, either to attack the Spaniards, or to withstand the force with which they were assailed. Gasping with hunger, they were unable to make any resistance; they were prepared for slaughter, and became an easy prey. An inconsiderable number of Spa-

to make peace. He then sailed to Tunis, and having stated his demands, the dey of that place bade him "look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletto, and do his utmost." Blake took him at his word. "He drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them to pieces with his artillery. He then sent a detachment of sailors into the harbour, in boats, and burned every ship that lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity perhaps rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour." Hume's History of England, vol. xi.

niards routed the whole army, killed about 600, and chased the remaining part on board their ships.

Dispirited with these disasters, and dreading consequences still more fatal, neither officers nor soldiers were willing to risk another attempt. The Spaniards by that success which had crowned their efforts against British valour, were flushed with victory, and gained in courage what we had lost. On these accounts it is more than probable, that had an attempt been made a second time, it would have been attended with consequences to our troops even more fatal and disastrous than their fears had magnified.

To make some atonement for this badly projected and imprudently conducted expedition, Penn and Venables proceeded to plan another, as well as to conduct it themselves. They sailed from Hispaniola to Jamaica, pushed their enterprise with vigour, and the island surrendered without a blow. Since that period (1655) it has remained in the hands of our government, has been cultivated with extraordinary success, and has raised its consideration in the eyes of Europe.

The conquest of Jamaica was however at that time of little account in the estimation of Cromwell, who had other objects in view of a more extensive magnitude. Penn and Venables on their return to England, were both committed to the tower; not for taking Jamaica, but because they had failed in their expedition against Hispaniola.

It has been stated in a preceding page on the authority of Raynal, that the population of Jamaica, when it fell into our hands, "consisted of about 1500 slaves, governed by as many tyrants." But Penn on his return to England in September 1655, when examined before the council of Cromwell, states the number at twelve or fourteen hundred only. On the precision of these accounts the reader must decide. Penn without all doubt had the best opportunity of ascertaining their numbers, and yet it is possible from a variety of causes that his statement may be incorrect.

All accounts however agree, that the Spaniards, after having murdered the natives, visited the shores of Africa. They had begun the mournful traffic of dealing in their fellow-creatures; and the unhappy sons of Guinea had been forced to embark, to people these distant islands, to labour for these destroyers of mankind, and drag out a miserable existence amid the hardships of servitude and the lamentations of sorrow.

The Spanish settlement next in consequence to St. Jago, was at Port Caguay, the present Port Royal, which lies on the south-east side of the island. It was then only a village; but was afterwards improved into a very considerable town by our coun-

trymen, and continued to enjoy great commercial prosperity from its convenient situation. But at length, the inhabitants were driven from it by a train of unexampled calamities. They were visited by repeated hurricanes, by earthquakes, and by a dreadful fire; in consequence of which catastrophes, the new town of Kingston was founded in 1693, and became the capital of the county of Surry, so called after the name of Surry in England, of which the particulars will be given in their proper place. With respect to Port Royal, we have only to notice, that it still retains part of its former importance, as it is the harbour for ships of war; has a navy-yard, in which they can be built if occasions require, and in which they are repaired and refitted after damages sustained at sea. There are about two hundred houses in the town, fit for the reception of mariners, of merchants, of tradesmen, and others connected with them. It contains likewise a royal hospital for sick and wounded officers, seamen, and soldiers; and barracks for a regiment of infantry. It is strongly fortified, and constantly maintained in a proper state for defence in time of war, against any powerful enemy. A remarkable instance of local attachment to this place, and at the same time of the wonderful preservation of the life of one of its worthy inhabitants, (who, if the historical narratives handed down to us of the general wickedness that pervaded all ranks of the people be true, must have been in many respects a modern Lot,) is inserted here as copied by Edwards from a tomb-stone at Green-Bay near the remains of this once flourishing town. It indeed merits communication to every pious believer in the tender mercies of the Almighty Governor of the universe.

"DIEU SUR TOUT.

"Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy Esq. who departed this life at Port Royal, the 22d of December 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier in France; but left that country for his religion, and came to settle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake, in the year 1692; and by the providence of God, was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."*

* It is a branch of that fashionable philosophy which disgraces rather than embellishes the age in which we live, to deny altogether the providence of God. But this sentiment, though its advocates are but too numerous, is too daring to lay claim to universal credit, and too fashionable to be in general

disavowed. A middle path has therefore been struck out, in which the providence of God is not reasonably admitted, nor totally denied.

The advocates for this middle opinion, admit a general providence as they term it, but utterly deny that which is particular, without once adverting to the absurdities to which such an opinion must necessarily lead. For it ought to be considered, that between these two points there can be no medium. We must either admit a particular providence, or we must deny the Divine interference altogether.

A general providence must without all doubt be of general application. I know of no other manner in which the term can be introduced. A general providence which comprehends a whole, must necessarily include all the parts of which that whole is composed; and consequently must apply to the parts individually as well as to the whole. If a general providence takes no notice of any given individual part, neither can it take notice of another part in the same situation; and by the same mode of reasoning, the remarks may be extended to every individual person or thing over which a general providence is supposed to extend. Can then that providence be of general application, which takes no cognisance of any one part to which it is supposed to be applied? Certainly this is impossible. The admission of a general providence must therefore include that which is particular, because it is impossible that the former can exist without the latter. The two ideas, if they be two, must stand or fall together. And those who admit a general providence, and deny that which is particular, involve themselves in contradictions.

CHAP. VI.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Condition of the island when captured—difficulties which our first settlers had to encounter and surmount—prudent conduct and excellent character of D'Oyley our first governor. Unsuccessful attempt of Spain to recover the island—progress of prosperity under the direction of Lord Windsor—Jamaica enriched by the spoils of the Buccaniers—character and depredations of those pirates.

JAMAICA at the time of its capture was in a forlorn condition. The internal parts were mountainous and useless, and the shores presented little better than a desert that had never been inhabited by man. In taking a circuit round the island, it is of little consequence in what part we begin. Cultivation was confined to an inconsiderable portion; and cattle which were grown wild, inhabited all the rest. The progress of years which had multiplied their numbers, had provided for their defence, by inclosing them in impenetrable forests, and instructing them to ascend the mountains which had never been trodden by the foot of man. The perpetual verdure which clothed the surface of the island, provided for them an inexhaustible source of pasturage, which knew no suspension through the chills of winter, and which was never concealed by descending snows.

The southern side of the island was alone occupied; and the inhabitants thereof, with but few exceptions, were confined to a narrow spot. In estimating therefore the condition of the island, it will be necessary to start from some particular point, while we survey its shores and their contiguous lands. We will therefore begin with Puerta de Esquivella, a place of considerable note in ancient days.

Puerta de Esquivella (Port Esquivel) so named in honour of the first deputy governor of the island, under Diego Columbus, was the harbour which received the Spanish galleons from the Havannah, and where they put in through stress of weather, and remained during the hurricanes. It is situated to the westward of Port Royal, and is now known by the name of Old Harbour,—a tribute of respect which commemorates its ancient reputation. From this place to Punto Negrillo, the most west-

erly point of the island, the whole of that great extent of country, except a small hamlet named Oristan, remained unsettled, though admirably adapted for cultivation. Returning eastward to the north of Port Royal, extensive savannas or plains overrun with horned cattle and horses, appeared to be almost destitute of human inhabitants; for the only plantation existing in this quarter, was that of a rich widow, who, according to Sir Hans Sloane, had a considerable sugar-work at a place called Hato de Liguany, a great number of negro slaves, and about 40,000 head of cattle in the adjacent savannas.

Most parts of the island abounded with horses and horned cattle, which wandered at large over the extensive plains, without owners and without controul. The multitudes of cattle which were found on the island, confirmed the opinion which has uniformly prevailed as to the indolence of the Spaniards; and the wildness which appeared in all of them, plainly proves that no method had been taken to subdue their native fierceness. A state of nature prevailed through the vegetable department; the animals which swarmed in all the country, participated of the same common condition; and the Spaniards who were on the island, exhibited signs of their approaching ruin. Industry had but partially visited these abodes of fertility; necessity, and not advantage, prompted the inhabitants to action. They knew not the value of the island which they possessed; and they had made but little improvement of those parts which they had selected for cultivation.

The northern coasts were totally uncultivated; and that side of the island presented only a wild desert of intermingled rocks, forests and plains, from the eastern to the western extremities of the land. From the best authorities we are likewise assured, that the Spaniards, in the long space of time they remained in peaceable possession of this valuable colony, not less than one hundred and fifty years, had not cultivated the hundredth part of the land which was best adapted to the purposes of producing abundant crops of sugar, cotton, tobacco, rice, and other profitable commodities for foreign commerce. The characteristic indolence of the Spanish nation was transported hither from their native country: and the settlers, even when they possessed such a number of negro slaves purchased or captured from Africa, as nearly equalled their own population, contented themselves with raising such a quantity of food and other produce as was sufficient for their domestic wants. Their only articles of exportation were a small surplus of cocoa, hog's-lard and hides, which, with some provisions, they chiefly bartered with the ships that occasionally put into their ports, for Euro-

pean manufactures, particularly for woollen and linen cloths and hose.

Successive generations passed their days in gloomy languor, enfeebled by sloth and depressed by poverty: and not having either the conveniency or the ability to send their children to Europe for education, they proceeded from one degree of degeneracy to another, and would probably, if we had not captured the island, have met with a similar fate from their own slaves, to that which the original natives fatally experienced from their inhuman ancestors.*

But whatever was the condition of the inhabitants, or from whomsoever they were descended, nothing can justify the subsequent conduct of Venables towards the Spaniards who had surrendered upon certain express conditions, to which Venables had bound himself to adhere.

Among other particulars it was expressly stipulated, "first, that all forts, ammunition and necessaries for war, and all kinds of shipping in any of the harbours of the island, goods, wares, merchandise, &c. should be delivered up to Venables, or whom he should appoint, for the use of the protector of the commonwealth of England.

"Secondly, that all the inhabitants of the island should have their lives granted them. Those who liked to continue, should remain peaceably there; or, if they chose it, be transported to New Spain with their apparel, books, papers, &c.

"Thirdly, that all commissioners, officers, &c. should be permitted to wear their poniards, rapiers, &c. And, fourthly, that all such as continued in the island, should be entitled to the privilege of enjoying their goods and properties, provided they conformed themselves to the laws which should be established." (See Barrow's Naval History, vol. i. p. 268.)

* Previously to its being attacked, the real condition of this island was not known either to Penn or Venables; and their failure before Hispaniola had induced them to act with the utmost precaution in this second expedition. Their former ill success had tarnished their reputed glory, and a similar disaster before Jamaica would have completely ruined their reputation.

It was on the third of May 1655, that general Venables issued among his troops the following order, "That if any man through cowardice should attempt to quit his station, or neglect his duty, the next person behind him should immediately shoot him; and in case that he should neglect to do it, the next in succession should shoot him; and that in regular progression each man should expose himself to the same punishment." With these orders they proceeded to attack the fort, which they carried; and then to storm the town of St. Jago. But the latter was unnecessary. The threats which were used with the inhabitants, produced the desired effect; and a capitulation shortly ensued. No evil consequences seem to have followed the indiscreet directions which Venables gave to his soldiers; which, if carried into execution, might have been productive of the most fatal consequences.

Cromwell's generals and the troops under their command began their career in perfect conformity with these articles of capitulation, and behaved with great generosity to the inhabitants. They were left in peaceable possession of their plantations, of their slaves, and of their personal property, with liberty to remain on the island, and to continue the free exercise of their religion. But it was not long before civil dissentions rose to a considerable height between the conquerors and their captive Roman Catholics; insomuch, that Venables, the commander in chief of the republican forces, suddenly deprived the planters of their slaves and effects; arrested the Spanish governor, who had surrendered the island under an express stipulation of unmolested residence; and forced him and his friends to sign fresh articles, by which they reluctantly agreed that all the Spaniards should quit the island. The reasons which urged Venables to adopt such severe measures, have never been satisfactorily explained. Those shadows which frequently conceal injustice, seem to obscure his conduct, and give us much reason to believe, that it did not arise from any well-founded complaints against them.

The Spaniards, at once astonished and exasperated at this flagrant act of perfidy, felt all the horrors of their situation. The new articles, whatever they were, were such as forbade their compliance; but their situation was such as placed resistance beyond their reach, and they were obliged to submit.

Venables, in his letters to Cromwell, assigns no reasons for his change of measures. He only observes in general terms, "The Portuguese we hope to make good subjects of; the Spaniards we shall remove." This sudden transition took place within one month from the time of their first surrender, and holds out an awful lesson to assure mankind, that terms of capitulation are too often held sacred no longer than while they accord with the will of the conqueror.

But be these things as they may, certain it is that while the better sort complied with this imperious injunction, numbers of the poorer rank, having no relations nor friends, nor any other country to which they could fly, betook themselves to the inaccessible mountains and impenetrable forests, determined to perish in these inhospitable retreats, rather than submit to beg their bread in a foreign clime: and many of their negro slaves accompanying them, they made together a formidable corps of concealed enemies to their unjust oppressors. Our commanders, during the first year of their conquest, were obliged to keep their troops constantly under arms and in military array, and to enforce the strictest discipline. The negroes accustomed to a savage life in their native land, and being delivered from all

restraint, soon deserted the impoverished Spaniards; and, impelled by hunger and their natural savage ferocity, murdered the English wherever they found them in small parties exploring the country either from motives of curiosity or interest. They had sometimes the temerity to fall upon the soldiers in their quarters suddenly in the night; and even at St. Jago, the capital, they succeeded so far as to set fire to several houses; and in the confusion to plunder and carry off a considerable booty in provisions and clothes. These depredations and cruel excesses obliged the three commissioners whom Cromwell had sent out to assist Penn and Venables, to subject the whole island for a limited time to martial law.

The negroes thus driven, or absconding with some of their original masters, to the mountains and forests of Jamaica, secured themselves by those impassable ramparts which nature had provided for them in these solitary retreats. In these recesses they found a mode of life congenial to their primitive views; and, after encountering those hardships which are inseparable from all sudden changes, they subdued the inconveniences which would have proved fatal to Europeans, and claimed for themselves that independence which their original masters had lost.

The progress of time which accomplishes events by slow and imperceptible degrees, confirmed them in their notions, habituated them to their mode of life, and considerably enlarged their numbers. From this circumstance sprang the ferocious Maroon negroes, who afterwards became so formidable to our settlers. In their early state depredations were rather incidental than customary; but their excesses increased with their augmented power and numbers, till a treaty between them and us defined their rights, and acknowledged their independence. But the circumstances of their case will best appear, when we come to view them in a subsequent part of the history.

Nor were these the only obstacles to the early establishment of the island as one of our regular colonies. The state of public affairs at home contributed in some respects to the discords, which followed close upon the emigrations from thence of persons of different religious persuasions and opposite political principles during the remainder of Cromwell's administration. Allowance being made for the partiality of a French historian, the Abbé Raynal's account of the first arrival and settlement of the emigrants, whom Cromwell, desirous of peopling the island with British subjects, invited and encouraged to repair to it from Great Britain, Ireland, and New England, may be relied on as approaching nearest to the truth; our own historians of these times being still more misled by party zeal,

The army itself was formed of a heterogeneous mass. It was a compound of royalists and republicans, men who hated each other with the most invincible animosity, and who acted in concert more from necessity than choice. They however accorded with one another in the profligacy of their manners, in their hope of conquest and general hatred of the Spanish name.

" It is pretended (says Hume) that Cromwell was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board when they first embarked on the expedition, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy which had been formed among them in favour of the exiled family. The soldiers were the refuse of the whole army. The forces enlisted in the West Indies were the most profligate of mankind; Penn and Venables were of incompatible tempers; the troops were not furnished with arms fit for such an expedition, and their provisions were defective both in quality and quantity." (History of England, p. 96. vol. xi.)

From this unfavourable picture our expectations of future harmony cannot be raised to any considerable height; and we have more reason to be surprised at their success in the conquest of Jamaica, than to be astonished at their failure before Hispaniola. As there was a mixture of Irish Roman Catholics, of members of the established church, and of Presbyterians, the divisions, which had so long and so cruelly tormented the contending parties at home, followed them beyond the seas. One side insolently triumphed in the protection of Cromwell, who had been by their party exalted to the protectorship upon the ruins of the throne: the other relied on the governor of the island, a royalist in his heart, though forced to bend to the authority of Cromwell; who, after a short suspension, continued him in the office of governor, to which he had succeeded by the command devolving on him after the return of Penn and Venables to England.

The difficulties which D'Oyley the first governor had to encounter, were of a most serious nature, and required a combination of superior talents to preserve the distracted state from falling to pieces by its intestine broils and that complication of dangers which threatened it with destruction. But these talents happily met in the person of D'Oyley.

His army was torn by political and religious animosities, and the whole country was placed under military law. The Spaniards were in a similar condition with the Portuguese. They both viewed our countrymen with detestation. At the same time multitudes of the negroes had revolted, and retired to the mountains, from whence they had begun to issue in depredatory excursions. The island in the mean while was in a comparatively defenceless state, and lay open to the return of the Spa-

niards who were scarcely expelled from their ancient habitations. These, it was natural to expect, would report the condition of the island, and invite their countrymen to recover it with the sword.

But these dangers were not sufficient to shake the dauntless spirit of D'Oyley.* They were difficulties to which he was

* Though we have represented D'Oyley as actually the first governor of Jamaica, there are some circumstances connected with the fact, which ought not to be passed over in silence. They are events of which the reader should be apprised, that he may be able to reconcile this account with some relations which appear superficially to have a different aspect. Thus Mr. Edwards introduces a series of movements between the departure of Penn and Venables and the appointment of D'Oyley to the government of the island. But Raynal says, "that Penn and Venables gave the command of the island to the wisest of their men who happened to be the oldest officer. His name was Dudley (D'Oyley,) and he was a friend of the Stewarts." That Dudley here means D'Oyley, is evident from the following particulars which are applicable to D'Oyley, and to none but him. "Twice (says Raynal) did Cromwell appoint some of his own party in his stead, and twice did Dudley come again." This was actually the case with D'Oyley; but the name of Dudley is quite unknown in these early memoirs. And though there seems to be a disagreement between the accounts of Edwards and Raynal, yet their relations are easily reconcileable with each other. The whole affair stands thus:

The island of Jamaica, for reasons which we have already assigned, was placed under military law by Cromwell, in which state it continued until the restoration of Charles II. After its capture, Cromwell sent out three men, Winslow, Serle, and Butler, in the character of commissioners, to act in concert with Penn and Venables who had subdued the island. These five men constituted a kind of court of equity, and had in all probability the power of deliberating on all affairs, and of softening the rigours of martial severity.

They had not long been in this new situation, before Penn, Venables, and Butler, without leave returned to England, leaving Winslow and Serle behind. During their absence the command of the fleet devolved on admiral Goodson, and that of the army on general Fortescue. By this action of Penn, Venables, and Butler, Winslow and Serle were deprived of the power of acting; and nothing but military law, operating in all its rigour, directed the island for some time without any assuasive to mitigate its force.

On the arrival of Penn and Venables at home, they were committed to the tower; and major Sedgewicke was immediately dispatched to fill the vacancy which Butler had made by his elopement. Sedgewicke reached Jamaica in October 1655, but unfortunately found that both Winslow and Serle had fallen victims to the climate or the diseases which ravaged the island.

Sedgewicke was now alone, and found himself in an unpleasant situation. He felt much reluctance in acting without instructions from Cromwell, which could not be obtained without a considerable delay, while the situation of the island required a promptitude of exertion to which he found himself inadequate. In this predicament he summoned the principal officers, and after some deliberation they drew up an instrument, by which they constituted themselves a supreme executive council for transacting the important affairs of the island, until some new instructions should reach them from home.

As military law had been established, and the command of the army on the removal of Venables had devolved on major-general Fortescue, he was chosen president of this executive council. In this state affairs continued to move for

fully adequate. He was well acquainted with his resources, and he knew how to apply them for the preservation of the island, and the accommodation of those intestine commotions which shook his army with a mutinous spirit. Though a royalist at heart, his attachment to the real interests of his country rose superior to the factions which embroiled his native home, and he determined to defend the island to the last extremity against all assaults.

He was however at present no more than a temporary governor. The death of his superior officer since the departure of Penn and Venables, had invested him with his power, which he had but little reason to expect that Cromwell would confirm. His political principles were well known at home; they were such as Cromwell hated; and he had every reason to expect that as soon as Cromwell knew the office to which he had been exalted, he should be immediately superseded. His apprehensions did not deceive him.

Holding his government on this precarious tenure, and being unable to attach stability to his power, his measures were retarded in their operations, and deprived of that vigour which his intrepidity and talents so naturally inspired. In this state of suspense he waited the arrival of dispatches from home, which should either confirm him in his office, or dismiss him from it; and, confident of his own integrity, he felt a dignified resolution to yield obedience to the mandate of Cromwell without solicitude or remonstrance, though it should direct him to resign.

Oliver, who well knew the political sentiments of the present

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some time, till death that had before taken away Winslow and Serle, called Fortescue to pay the debt of nature.

On the death of Fortescue the command of the army devolved on Edward D'Oyley, who sustained prior to that period the rank of colonel, and was next in command to Fortescue deceased. With the command of the army he also took possession of the presidental chair, and continued in that office till he was superseded by another officer from England, whose name was Brayne, which is stated in the text.

Of these minute particulars Raynal takes no notice. He only looks at D'Oyley who continued some time in office; was then superseded; was again reinstated, and finally confirmed by Cromwell notwithstanding his political creed. In each of his exaltations his talents rendered him conspicuous; and the lustre which his actions diffused, so far eclipsed that of his predecessors, that their names are almost forgotten, and their actions quite unknown. It was the death of his superior officers that called him to the command, and his abilities and unshaken integrity that confirmed him in it. And as D'Oyley was the first man who shone in that office, or who was established in it by Cromwell, though not the first time that he held it, he may with much propriety be called the first governor of Jamaica.

governor, would not place any confidence in him; but sent out a colonel Brayne, governor of Lachabar in Scotland, with a regiment of infantry, to supersede him: this officer arrived at Jamaica in the month of December 1656. He had not long been in possession of his government, before he discovered that the veteran troops who had captured the island under Penn and Venables, as well as the majority of our settlers, were affectionately attached to D'Oyley, not Dudley, as he is erroneously named by Raynal; and this mortifying circumstance, combined with the unhealthy climate to new comers, and a failure of provisions, as well as of money to pay his men, made him weary of his station. He solicited soon after for leave to return home; but before he could receive any answer, fell a victim to his own improper management, in being too often blooded, as a preventive against a fever that was daily carrying off numbers of his soldiers. He expired after a short residence of ten months; and the government once more as a matter of course reverted to D'Oyley.

Cromwell, previously to the appointment of colonel Brayne, had fixed in his mind a firm resolution to keep possession of the island, to people it, and to use all exertions to call forth those powers of the soil which the Spaniards had so much neglected. Barbadoes and other of the Windward Islands were at that time thickly peopled: he wrote therefore to the governor of Barbadoes, commanding him to encourage a spirit of emigration among the planters, and to prevail upon as many as possible to remove to Jamaica, promising them at the same time an assurance of lands and such other immunities as were best calculated to excite and reward industrious enterprise. To New England he dispatched an agent with similar proposals. And to his son who then commanded his forces in Ireland, he gave instructions to enlist if possible some thousands of both sexes, who were young in years, and were likely to apply themselves to cultivation. To Scotland he held out the same temptation, and multitudes emigrated from every part. This influx of people soon supplied the deficiencies which the articles of capitulation had occasioned, and stocked the island with more inhabitants than had pressed its shore since the extermination of the natives.

D'Oyley, who again found himself invested with authority on the death of Brayne, reluctantly took upon him the ungrateful office *pro tempore*, till Cromwell's will and pleasure could be known; to whom he wrote upon this occasion a firm and manly letter, breathing a spirit of noble resolution, and of gentle reproach for the indignity he had suffered in being superseded. To Fleetwood he more confidently expresses his desire to re-

sign. Happily for his country, his proposed resignation was not accepted, though colonel Moore, an officer who had been sent over at the beginning of the year 1657 with a regiment from Ireland to reinforce governor Brayne, was then in the island, and was nominated in council to succeed him when D'Oyley's dispatches were read. Fleetwood however was decidedly in favour of D'Oyley. He was fully apprised of the extraordinary talents for government, and superior military skill of this faithful servant of the public, who sought not for honours or riches, but steadily adhered to the true interests of his native country, without paying any regard to the person who was entrusted with its executive power. At length Cromwell was brought over to Fleetwood's opinion, and D'Oyley was confirmed in his government with tokens of the protector's approbation. This was a critical juncture. The court of Spain had constantly meditated a recapture of Jamaica, and had given secret orders to the governors of Hispaniola and Cuba to watch the most favourable opportunity for invading it with a formidable force, and to reinstate the exiled Spanish governor.

A train of circumstances, adverse to our interests, but highly favourable to the expedition of the Spaniards, pointed out to them the present as a most auspicious moment. It was a period, which, if once neglected, might never more return; and they determined to avail themselves of our distresses, and make a desperate effort.

The inhabitants of the island at this time were not only a prey to faction, but almost the victims of famine. The soldiers, whose valour had captured the island, wished to return home; but instead of having their desires gratified, they begun to suspect that they were exiled for life. This excited among them a spirit of discontent, which visibly increased, and led them to the eve of mutiny and revolt.

The numerous inhabitants that had resorted thither, from Scotland, from Ireland, from New England and Barbadoes, were more than equal to the provisions with which they were to be supplied. The bread and flour which were sent from home, were frequently so much damaged by the length of the voyage and the heat of the climate, that the greater part became unserviceable; and even the best extremely bad. Fresh provisions were always difficult and sometimes impossible to be obtained.

On our first arrival, the island abounded in cattle, but they had been slaughtered and destroyed with that wanton profusion and barbarous prodigality which so often tread in the footsteps of war, and associate with conquest. The anger of Omnipotence appeared to frown upon them, and threatened to punish

them with that famine which their own profligacy had occasioned.

The principal commanders, anticipating the fatal issue which was fast approaching, endeavoured to check the portentous evil, before it fell upon them with all its horrors. They pointed out to the soldiers their precarious reliance for a constant supply from home, and endeavoured to awaken within them a sensibility of their danger, by referring to what was past, and by teaching them to survey the scenes with which they were encircled. And from these circumstances they used every effort that they thought might be available, to induce them to plant Indian corn, cassavi, and pulse for their own subsistence, or to act as an auxiliary to their precarious supplies. But entreaties were unavailable. The soldiers refused to regard the salutary admonitions of their officers, and persisted in the same line of conduct which had brought on the calamities which they felt.

From persuasion the commanding officers proceeded to adopt compulsory measures; but these were also rendered ineffectual. The subalterns joined with the private soldiers, and absolutely refused either to plant the ground, or to adopt the means recommended for their own preservation. An inordinate attachment to their native land had produced this fatal delirium; and they imagined that in proportion to the increase of the expense of supporting the island, Cromwell would feel inducements to abandon the conquest which he had made. And so far did this unreasonable infatuation prevail among them, that, instead of assisting to procure the necessaries of life, they even rooted up and destroyed those vegetable provisions which had been planted by the Spaniards before they were driven from the island.

Sedgewicke, alarmed at the approaching famine, forwarded letters to Cromwell, in which he points out the enormities of the soldiers, and the calamities which were impending. "They have destroyed," says he, "all sorts of provision and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wherever they go. They will neither dig nor plant, but are determined rather to starve than work." In the mean while, that famine which they dreaded, overtook them; and those men who had wantonly destroyed some thousands of cattle, were obliged to have recourse to snakes and other vermin to supply their place.* The soldiers, driven by

* On the state of the island at this period, Sloane, in his introduction to his second volume, has the following passage: "It hath been said, that lizards were not eaten in Jamaica or the West Indies; that is so notoriously false, that the smaller sorts were the ordinary food of Mons. Surian, and, I think, of Father Plumier of late years, as Father Labat tells us. All nations inhabiting these parts of the world esteem them, as I was assured by the first planters of

hunger, eagerly sought these noxious reptiles, which, with unripe fruits, constituted a considerable portion of their subsistence, but brought on its attendant calamities.

Disease succeeded to famine, as prodigality had succeeded to war. An epidemical distemper spread its ravages among them, and swept off multitudes to an untimely grave. A dreadful dysentery, which was strengthened by the poverty to which they were reduced, carried off on an average about 20 each day during many weeks. It was a species of pestilence, which pervaded all ranks, and Sedgewicke and Brayne at length became victims to the fatal malady.

Such was the condition of the soldiers and other inhabitants of this island, at a time when it was threatened with a revisit from the Spaniards. But these circumstances led to an event which established D'Oyley in the government, and concurred to obtain for him the approbation of Cromwell, who by attending to the advice of Fleetwood selected the only man that seemed capable of securing the island in the midst of disease and commotion, and of repelling the Spanish forces which were about to invade their shores. D'Oyley, being now confirmed in the supreme command by a formal commission which he had received from Cromwell, felt himself at liberty to pursue his own plans in this disastrous state of the island; and, from knowing the designs of the Spaniards, of putting it in the best possible state of defence.

Upon receiving his new commission, he however found himself under a necessity of making an example of some malecontents whose plots had been timely discovered and frustrated. The situation of the island was hazardous, and on this account he never suffered the smallest breach of discipline to go unpunished. He always kept the balance even between the faction he detested, and the party he secretly cherished. He excited industry by his advice and by unwearied attention to the improvement of the soil, and encouraged it by rewards. His authority was strengthened by his disinterested conduct. Being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations, he never could be prevailed on to accept a salary in addition to his military appointments as a general. In private life, he was plain and simple; strictly economical in his domestic arrangements; and easy and familiar in his manner and conversation. In his official capacity, he was an intrepid warrior; a firm and vigi-

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Jamaica—that they came into this custom under colonel D'Oyley, who was governor there at the first settlement of the English, when provisions were scarce; and that they were then sold at a very dear rate in the common markets." Introduction, p. 15.

lant commander, and an able politician. Such was the character of this great man; to whom the government at home consigned the preservation of this rich colony, when the Spaniards made their last powerful effort to recover it.

The Spaniards, who had long meditated the recapture of the island, were not altogether ignorant of its internal condition. They had observed the vigorous exertions which Cromwell had been making for its preservation; they knew the mortality that prevailed among the inhabitants, and the dissatisfaction of the troops by whom alone the island could be defended with success.

The exertion which was made by Cromwell to preserve the island, stimulated the Spaniards with fresh ardour to wrest it from his hands. It awakened within them an idea of the importance of it, to which they had hitherto been insensible; and his resolution to defend, provoked their desire to attack. Cuba was the spot where they had collected their forces, and from whence they intended to embark. The Spanish nation in Europe, became interested in the issue of the expedition; and even Mexico was called upon to assist in the great exploit. Those branches of the forces which were collected at Cuba, being ready, sailed from that island, and, without meeting with any accident, landed at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north side of Jamaica, with thirty companies of Spanish infantry, on the 8th of May 1658, just three years from the time that it had been captured by Penn and Venables.

What their plans of operation were, it is not easy to know with precision. No doubt they were extensive in their different parts, from the methods which they adopted, and from the interest which both Old and New Spain felt in the formidable enterprise. It is probable from circumstances, that these companies which commenced the invasion, had no conception of acting on the offensive, till they had sufficiently entrenched themselves, so as to secure a retreat in case of a disaster; and that they waited the arrival of considerable reinforcements from Mexico, if not from Old Spain, before they would begin any formidable attack. Their present object appeared to be nothing more than to secure the harbour by fortifications, and by that means to open a free passage for their ships, which might occasionally arrive with men, with ammunition or with stores. In the mean while, the troops with which they were furnished, were deemed sufficient for their defence, against any number of assailants with whom the island of Jamaica might be able to assault them in this remote and unfrequented part.

In the full expectation of being able to keep possession of

that part of the island, till they should receive reinforcements from the viceroy of Mexico, they were supplied with provisions for eight months, with ordnance and ammunition in great abundance, and with able engineers and proper workmen to build strong fortifications. Don Christopher Salsi Arnoldo, the governor who surrendered to us the island in 1655, had the command of this expedition; and with it a promise from the king of Spain to be reinstated and continued in his former office for life, if he succeeded in his enterprise. But though D'Oyley had been constantly on the alert, they eluded his vigilance, and he did not receive information of the debarkation of the Spanish army so early as might have been expected—not till twelve days had elapsed after their landing. The necessary preparations for attacking them being incomplete when he received the intelligence, occasioned a further delay, especially as he had to go round by sea, which took up nearly two months; in which time Salsi had entrenched his forces within a strong fortress erected on an eminence commanding the entrance of the harbour.

D'Oyley, beloved by his troops, and dreaded by his enemies, found himself at length in a condition to commence an attack on his new invaders, and to attempt the dislodgment of an enemy who became more formidable every day by the entrenchments which were making and the fortifications which were raised. His numbers were comparatively but small; many of these were emaciated by sickness; and all were badly supplied with such necessaries as were proper for their expedition. Confident however of his own personal abilities and courage, and of the unconquerable valour of his troops, he repaired to the scene of action with a degree of resolution which animates with perseverance, and flatters with a prospect of success. The preservation or loss of the island depended upon the victory or defeat that awaited him; which the existence of circumstances obliged him to hazard, however precarious it might be in its nature, or uncertain in its issue. The stability of the enemy depended upon his delay, and therefore not a moment was to be lost in fruitless deliberations.

In this situation, and with a very inferior force consisting of no more than seven hundred and fifty veteran troops, he approached the spot. The soldiers, by the superior generalship of their commander and their own personal valour, took the Spanish fortress by assault. In this conflict more than half of the Spanish troops were cut off, and taken prisoners, and the remainder with their general were obliged to make a precipitate retreat to their ships, and escape to the Spanish colony at Cuba, leaving behind them all their stores, ordnance, ammunition, and

several pair of colours. And so complete was this victory, that the Spaniards made no other attempt to recover this island openly by force of arms. The vanquished governor, however, clandestinely landed some time after this signal defeat, and concealed himself in the woods with a party of the old Spanish inhabitants, in the vain hope of maintaining his ground till succours should arrive from the continent; but they were betrayed by the negroes who had formerly been their slaves. These negroes, as the price of their emancipation, conducted some of our troops to the places of their concealment, when many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the remainder found means to avoid the sanguine pursuit, and to get safe to Cuba.

The peaceable possession of the island being thus secured, its internal improvement by the wise administration of this patriotic governor, made a rapid progress. New plantations of Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cocoa, by their success in yielding a considerable surplus for exportation, gave encouragement to new settlers; and the increase of merchant ships, resorting to its ports, with European commodities which supplied them with the conveniencies as well as the necessaries of life, rendered their situation more comfortable; it was the dawn of more prosperous days; it contributed to restore the health of the soldiers, and gave an earnest of an extensive and profitable foreign commerce.

D'Oyley survived Cromwell, and was continued in office by Charles II. soon after his restoration, with enlarged powers; for by a commission bearing date the 13th of February 1661, the king not only appointed him chief governor of the island, but authorized him to change the form of his government from a military to a civil establishment; to compose a council of state, the members to be elected by the inhabitants being householders; to appoint justices of the peace; to open courts of judicature; and with the advice of the council to enact such laws as the immediate exigencies and local circumstances of the island might require. Thus was the foundation laid of that regular system of civil government, which, not long after, was firmly established like those of our other colonies, on the model of the political constitution of the mother country. But the first exertions of the newly elected council were confined to a few temporary regulations, relative to the police, the administration of justice, and the finances, which were not yet formed into a regular code of laws; when the venerable governor, full of years, and crowned with honour, solicited and obtained his resignation, and the king appointed lord Windsor to be his successor.

Perhaps it is not in the power of language to add to the panegyric which the inflexible integrity of this able commander demands from his country. He had the happy art which all are ready to admire, but which few are able to attain, of preserving his dignity, and enforcing the most rigorous discipline among his soldiers, without forfeiting their approbation, or exciting their discontent. Beloved and respected by them, they placed the utmost confidence in his abilities; and they were taught obedience rather from a sense of duty, than from a fear of punishment or a prospect of reward.

He called into exertion the principles of industry by the united efforts of example and admonition; and the success which attended these early performances, at once stimulated to future action, and brought with it its own reward. But nothing can place his character in a more exalted light in a political view, than the station which he firmly held while the storms of faction and discord were ravaging and desolating the parent state. Cromwell and Charles II. were alike convinced of his greatness, and our country to the present day stands indebted to that illustrious man.

As a skilful general and a courageous warrior his conduct at Rio Nuevo has given satisfactory proofs. To dislodge an enemy who were deeply entrenched and strongly fortified, and who consisted of more than double his own number, required no less skill than courage: and the signal success which attended him in this important enterprise, demonstrates that he possessed an eminent share of both. "Few victories (says Edwards) have been more decisive; nor does history furnish many examples of greater military skill and intrepidity than those which were displayed by the English on this occasion." A man more cowardly than D'Oyley, and less acquainted with military tactics than he, would in all probability have been repulsed with considerable loss; and the event would have been, that the Spaniards would have regained the island, and driven us from their coasts. Awakened from their lethargy by their late disasters, they would have watched us with vigilance, and have defended themselves to the last extremity against any future effort which we might have made to approach their shores. Happily however for our country, the superior generalship and prowess of D'Oyley preclude these speculations. He obtained the island in conjunction with other heroes, and held it amid the convulsions which then agitated both the Old and the New World, and his successors have kept possession of it ever since. In a word, he seemed to have been a man exactly calculated to establish and defend an infant colony, to subdue intestine commotions, and

to repel external foes. And continuing in office till he might with safety retire from the scene of action, he gladly resigned his charge into the hands of lord Windsor by whom he was succeeded.

The new governor carried with him a royal proclamation which he published on his arrival, wherein, for the encouragement of the cultivation of the country, allotments of land were offered to the settlers under such conditions as were customary in other colonies belonging to the crown, with such further convenient and suitable privileges and immunities as the grantees should reasonably require. It likewise naturalized all the children of his majesty's English subjects born in Jamaica, in the same manner as if they had been born in England, and held forth, in a variety of forms, inducements which were at once congenial to industry and population. From this æra, the prosperity of the colony was secured by salutary regulations; its commerce began to flourish, and a considerable acquisition of wealth was derived from the encouragement and protection given by the government at home to a set of adventurers called Buccaniers. These adventurers fitted out private armed vessels, and were furnished with letters of marque and reprisals against the Spaniards at that time at war with us. These privateers ravaged the coasts of Spanish America, captured several rich Spanish ships, and repaired with their booty to Jamaica, where they disposed of it to the greatest advantage, and enjoyed that protection which they could not meet with in any other American port. The opinions of historical and political authors widely differ respecting the character and conduct of these Buccaniers. By some, they are accused of horrid murders and lawless rapine; while others contend that they were no more than masters of privateers, such as we have known in latter times, committing acts of desperate hostility on the declared enemies of their country.

Whatever the origin, the conduct and real character of these licensed marauders were, certain it is that they were a most extraordinary set of adventurers, who furnish us with such instances of desperate intrepidity and courage, as can hardly be paralleled either in ancient or modern history.

The Buccaniers that have made such a conspicuous figure in the history of the West Indies, may be considered as forming two classes, one of which confined their depredations to the land, and the other chiefly to the waters. Of the former of these classes multitudes inhabited and infested St. Domingo. They were collected together originally by the impulse of necessity, and formed themselves into small clans for the sake of conveniency and depredation.

"The French colonies (says Raynal*) were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, who had been reduced to the deepest despair from the necessity they were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive privileges. These men passionately fond of liberty, fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for many adventurers of their own country, who had been driven out of St. Christopher's about thirty years before." They had neither wives nor children; domestic concerns were transacted by themselves; their property was in common among the branches of each clan, and the survivor of his associates finally took all. As theft was unknown among them, they had no need of precaution, and they had no laws which inflicted punishment on any delinquent. If one clan wanted what another possessed, it was taken with the greatest freedom; nothing more was necessary than to give a previous intimation of their intention; or, if the real proprietors were not at home, to go on their return, and give information against themselves. Such differences as happened among them, were in general adjusted by friendly altercation, and all parties seemed satisfied with the decision. But in particular cases where obstinacy prevailed, fire-arms were called to their aid, and the death of one party could alone then terminate the dispute. Yet even in this case, if the ball by which the deceased fell, entered behind or at his side, it was considered as an act of treachery; the victor was declared an assassin, and immediately put to death.

The dress of these barbarous hermits corresponded with their mode of life. A shirt which had been steeped in the blood of some animal they had killed, and which was afterwards dried and stiffened; a pair of trowsers still more filthy than the shirt; a hat without any brim, except a little flap before, which served as a handle; a pair of shoes but no stockings, constituted their whole attire. Around their waists was tied a girdle made of leather, to which they hung a short sabre and several knives; and the summit of their ambition reached no higher than to have a gun which would carry a ball of an ounce weight, and about twenty or thirty dogs.

Thus clothed, thus accoutred, and thus associated, they sallied out upon adventure. Their original employment was that of hunting wild bulls, which having been originally brought to

* The Abbé Raynal, speaking of the Buccaniers of St. Domingo, says, they derived their appellation from drying the food on which they subsisted in smoke, at a place of rendezvous called Buccano: and that they had adopted this mode of preserving their food from the savages, whose customs in many particulars they strongly imitated.

the island by the Spaniards, had so amazingly multiplied as to infest the whole country. The bulls which they killed, they immediately skinned. The hide was preserved for sale, but the flesh was divided between the hunters and their dogs. The flesh they seasoned with Jamaica pepper and the juice of orange. They had no salt, and they ate no bread: their drink consisted of nothing but water.

When a sufficient number of hides had been obtained to justify the journey, they dispatched their goods to some frequented road, and disposed of them to the best advantage; and obtaining in return such articles as the mountains could not produce (chiefly arms and ammunition) they returned to their old and their only employment.

The climate was the only enemy that these Buccaniers had to fear. A slight fever suspended their excursions sometimes for a few days; but as their lives were temperate, and their bodies were kept constantly in exercise, their attacks were transient, and they soon recovered their wonted vigour; and oftentimes attained an age of which more temperate climates can rarely boast.

The Spanish colonists who at first were so numerous in this island, had dwindled by degrees, and become the prey of indolence and the derision of the Buccaniers. They had lost all recollection of their departed greatness, and were forgotten by the mother country. Every thing valuable was neglected; their chief employment was to yawn in laziness, and that of their slaves was to swing them in their hammocks.

The Buccaniers taking advantage of their situation and conduct, proceeded occasionally from hunting bulls to the hunting of Spaniards; and sometimes made havoc and devastation among them. The Spaniards feelingly convinced of the activity and power of their new visitors, began to awake from that lethargy which had so long drenched all their senses. To recover that tranquillity which had been so often disturbed, they invited from the continent and neighbouring islands some troops to assist them in attacking the Buccaniers. In consequence of this invitation and request, multitudes repaired thither, and immediately commenced war against the Buccaniers. Numbers among them were murdered, as they wandered about in small parties; and many were massacred in their huts in the dead of night. Retaliation on their part was not wanting. If any one of their party was missing, the chace was suspended, and was renewed no more till he either returned, or his death was revenged.

These partial hostilities however promised no kind of termination to the nameless war which thus prevailed. The Bucca-

niers concentrated their forces, and were then able to make a formidable opposition. The Spaniards continued their attacks, and these freebooters continued their defence. They had been warriors by profession, and scenes of blood were become too familiar to them to impress their minds with those horrors, which associate with the idea of murder. In the height of that fury, which a sudden defeat sometimes produced, they sallied forth with sanguinary resolution, and devoting every thing to destruction, spared neither age nor sex. But to this mode of warfare there appeared to be no end. It was a war which nothing but extermination could finish, and of this there was but little hope. The Spaniards in consequence of these prospects before them, fixed a resolution to engage in one general chace, and destroy all the wild bulls on the island. This project they almost accomplished; and the event was, that the Buccaniers were obliged to quit the chace, and turn their attention to the cultivation of land.

At this time these marauders disowning all European power and laws, were in their turn disowned by those nations which gave them birth. But this existed no longer than they continued in a savage state. As soon as they had relinquished their former mode of life, and fixed themselves in settled habitations, and began to cultivate the adjacent lands, they felt no difficulty in obtaining a national owner. France, who had previously disclaimed them, now began to view them in a different light.

In 1665 a governor was sent out to direct their movements. He was a man qualified for his office, at once capable of controuling their ferocious spirits, and of instructing them in the principles of honesty towards their neighbours and industry among themselves. He took with him a number of women, whose profligacy of manners and licentiousness of behaviour had made them the pests of their native land. They had rendered themselves by their infamy unworthy of a longer residence in the Old World, and were now sent to try their fortunes in the New. The Buccaniers were not offended at the abandoned character which they imported; they viewed them in the light of an important acquisition, and selected from among them associates, which co-operated with other causes to repress that wandering disposition which had previously marked their conduct. "I do not desire you to give me an account of your past conduct," was the general observation of the Buccanier, to the female who came to his lot. "You did not then belong to me. I therefore acquit you of what is past; but you must give me your word for the future, as you are now mine." Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added, "This will revenge me of your breach of faith; if you are false, this

will be true to my aim." Such were the origin, progress, depredations, and final settlement of the Buccaniers, who confined themselves to the island of St. Domingo. This band of local adventurers, however, has excited but little notice, when compared with that which was formed for the purpose of ravaging the seas. The depredatory exploits of these nautical plunderers form a more conspicuous figure in the page of history, and will continue in remembrance till the wealth which Spain drew from the New World, and the crimes which she committed there in procuring it, shall be buried in oblivion.

But it is not by writers of every description that the colouring of these adventurers has been drawn alike. The strong impressions which the general character of human nature makes upon our minds, give an occasional bias to our judgments when we entertain no suspicions of our own integrity. But no colouring can change the nature of truth. The instant we penetrate the thin disguise which deluded for a moment, it drops the mask, assumes its native hue, and exhibits a scene either of beauty or deformity, or a strange intermixture of light and shade. To soften the picture which has been given of these banditti who enriched Jamaica with the spoils of piracy, the general description of their character has been represented as inaccurate; and the mode of conduct pursued in times of war, has been introduced to give sanction to the depredations which they committed in times of peace. That these Buccaniers were sometimes furnished with legal commissions, has never been doubted; but this circumstance has aggravated their crimes; for they have been charged with continuing to act under their guarantee, when the period of their power was at an end;—when peace had superseded war, and they were nationally disowned. The protection which they received from Charles II. has also been brought forward to palliate their enormities; and the authority of Sir Wm. Beeston has been quoted to exempt them from the charge of guilt, because his majesty had become a joint partner in their adventures and their spoils. But these appeals and apologies defeat the purposes for which they were designed. The partnership which is asserted to have existed, instead of exonerating the adventurous plunderers from the charge of guilt, will extend the criminality of their deeds where it was not intended to reach, and rather involve the monarch in the crimes of his subjects, than make them innocent under the authority of his name. It is, however, exceedingly necessary that we make some allowance for the partiality of the representations before us. They may have arisen from national prejudices, from the power of habit, or from those dictates of nature which incline us to draw a veil over the infirmities of the

objects which we love. But truth remains invariably the same. These fond attachments may be ranked among the pardonable failings of human nature, and they show us that it is but a thin partition which divides the historian from the man.

There are other writers however, equally enlightened, and not more chargeable with national prejudices and attachments, who have drawn the picture of Buccaniering in shades of a much deeper dye. They have described the characters of these professional robbers in such colours as appear more congenial to truth, and which cannot be reconciled with the partialities which we reprehend.

The amazing influx of wealth which Spain had acquired from the discovery and conquest of the New World, dazzled the eyes of Europe; and awakened an earnest desire in the neighbouring nations to share in the riches which Spain was then drawing from the mines of Hispaniola, and of Mexico. The peace which at that period subsisted in Europe forbade all national interference, but did not quench an insatiable thirst for gold. The prospect of sudden aggrandisement stimulated individuals to embark in expeditions, in which the sorceries of enriching themselves totally obscured the injustice of their deeds. In these distant seas, which had hitherto been frequented chiefly by the Spaniards, they had little to fear from being detected by any other nation, and a Spanish vessel was a desirable prize. Desperadoes are to be found in every country, who are always willing to sacrifice every thing to the shrine of gold. These were ready to embark upon any desperate adventure, where distance promised to secure them from the hands of justice, and gold and diamonds were the promised reward.

It was long before either the English had settled at Jamaica or the French at St. Domingo, that some of these pirates of both nations fitted out ships for their enterprises. These adventurers were called Buccaniers. Though springing from different nations, without any kind of knowledge of each other, they mutually agreed in one point, and that was to make depredations upon the Spaniards. Their first effort was to drive the Spaniards from the small island of Tortuga, which lies in the vicinity of St. Domingo. In this attempt they succeeded, and took particular care to fortify themselves against any attempt which might be made to root them out. This was their place of rendezvous, from whence they sallied in parties as occasion might require, against the Spaniards, whom they called the common enemy.

Their numbers, though trifling and inconsiderable when they were dispersed, became formidable when collected together, especially as they were impelled by an arduous intrepidity, which

could hardly be withstood. Like the Buccaniers whom we have surveyed on the island of St. Domingo, they formed themselves into small parties in proportion to their numbers, consisting sometimes of fifty, sometimes of a hundred, and sometimes of one hundred and fifty men in each. A boat, sometimes of a larger, and now and then of a smaller size, was at first their only armament. In this they ventured on the remorseless deep, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, and watched both day and night for the approach of prey.

Like the Charaibees whom we have surveyed in a former chapter, these Buccaniers acknowledged no authority except in time of battle. Confusion and disorder on all other occasions reigned among them, and exposed them to all the evils which are attendant upon anarchy. The apprehensions of want awakened no solicitude, and the approach of danger excited within them no fears. Thoughtless and improvident, they made no provision for the future, and on that account they were frequently exposed to extremities through hunger and thirst, which prudence and foresight would have totally prevented, but against which no calamities could instruct them to prepare. They were Europeans in a state of savage barbarity, with courage broken loose from all restraint, and degenerated into brutal ferocity.

But in the midst of hunger and distress the appearance of a vessel on their coast inspired them with new sensations. Their former feelings rather added vigour to their exertions; and hunger and courage co-operating with the assurance of a prize, produced a frenzy which it is difficult to describe. Their situation left no room for deliberation. They proceeded to the ship, and boarded her, if possible, immediately. The smallness of their boats, and the dexterity of managing them, of which they had made themselves completely masters, tended to preserve them in the midst of dangers, and expedited their success. The prow of their boats they presented to the porthole which they had most to dread, and this prow was armed with fusileers, who directed their fire immediately into the porthole with such exactness, that the experienced gunners were confounded, and either killed, or driven from the guns which they ought to have managed. If they succeeded in seizing the vessel with their grappling irons, they instantly boarded; and in such cases the largest ship rarely escaped from their desperate fangs.

The inhumanities which Spain had practised upon the Indians wherever they had obtained a conquest, were well known to the Buccaniers, and this became a pretext for their own severities. They considered it as an act of justice to commit depredations on a nation that had rendered herself infamous by her

former conduct; and this persuasion of remunerative justice gave energy to their courage in the midst of the most daring exploits.

But though Spain was the avowed object of their plunder, it is generally understood that the Buccaniers did not scrupulously attend to the subjects of their hostility: "In cases of extreme necessity (says Raynal) they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times." Against Spain they seemed to have sworn an invincible hatred, and they viewed the people of that nation as inhuman barbarians, whom they thought it meritorious to destroy. And so far satisfied were these men with the justice of their conduct, and the integrity of their principles, that they embarked on their desperate expeditions under the full assurance of the protection of Heaven. The hand which held the dagger, was frequently lifted to God in prayer for that success which they expected to find in the encounter; and homage to God accompanied the spoils which they had acquired at the expense of human blood.

The ships which entered these seas from Europe, rarely held out to them a temptation which could induce them to risk an action: such merchandise in general met with an indifferent market and a heavy sale. These desperadoes had higher game in view. They were always on the alert, when vessels were returning from Mexico. The temptation then became too powerful to be resisted. The gold, the silver, the jewels, and other valuable productions of the western continent, glittered with a brilliancy which was irresistible, and impelled them headlong on their prey.

A solitary ship was always sure to be attacked if seen; and attack and conquest were, with the Buccaniers, nearly synonymous terms. The fleets, however, were in general too formidable to be attempted, while the Buccaniers had no larger vessels than boats. But even then they followed them through these seas, hung upon their rear, and sometimes traced them beyond the Bahama Straits. In this pursuit, if foul weather, or some other cause, had separated one of the ships from the fleet, advantage was instantly taken of its situation; it was attacked, it was boarded, it was conquered, and conducted immediately to Tortuga, the depository of their spoils. "The Spaniards (says Raynal), who trembled at the approach of the Buccaniers, whom they called devils, instantly surrendered. Quarter was granted when the cargo was a rich one; if otherwise, all the prisoners were thrown into the sea."

By such acts of desperate resolution the Buccaniers soon acquired wealth, an acquisition to their forces and numbers, and at length vessels of such considerable burden that the

trade of Spain stood on a precarious footing. From solitary boats the Buccaniers came to armed vessels; and from single vessels to small squadrons composed of ships which they had taken in their expeditions; which they fitted out for their own purposes, and rendered formidable both by number and force. They were become the terror of the Spaniards, and the pests of those seas. The nation at length became interested in the Mexican and Peruvian trade, and ships of war were fitted out to sweep these pirates from the surface of the waves.

But this was a task more easily proposed in Europe, than accomplished in America. The expeditions of the ships of war were not always attended with the success which their projectors had fondly anticipated: they were sometimes obliged to yield to superior courage but inferior force, and were covered with infamy where they expected to meet renown. Of this strange but indubitable fact the following narrative affords a memorable instance.

Michael de Basco, Jonque, and Lawrence le Graff, well known in the annals of Buccaniering, were cruising with three small vessels off Carthagena, in hope of intercepting some rich prizes which they confidently expected to sail. It was known at Carthagena that these pirates were on the coast. Two men of war were immediately ordered out of the harbour, with directions to take the Buccaniers, and bring them in either alive or dead. The pirates no sooner knew of their intention, than, instead of flying from them, they waited their arrival, and immediately commenced the attack. The action was dreadful. The Buccaniers were victorious, and actually took possession of the Spanish men of war. Those among the Spaniards who survived the action, were soon afterwards sent on shore with a letter of thanks to the governor for having sent them two such excellent ships. At the same time they acquainted him, "that if he had any more ships to part with, they would wait for them about a fortnight; but unless there was money on board, the men were not to expect any quarter." Such was the courage, and such the insolence, of these men!

About the same time, fifty-five of these daring depredators, who had entered the south seas, proceeded as far as California, in expectation of booty; but, having met with bad success, were obliged to prosecute a voyage of nearly two thousand miles in a canoe. They had returned as far as the straits of Magellan, but had taken nothing. Exasperated at this disappointment, and mortified at the recollection that they had been cruising upon the coasts of the richest country in the world, only to combat storms and encounter dangers, they formed the resolution of returning again to Peru. They had obtained some intel-

ligence that a vastly rich ship lay in the port of Auca or Yuca, which was valued at some millions; they proceeded thither, made themselves masters of it, and immediately set sail in the prize they had taken.

Another instance of daring intrepidity was exhibited by two vessels commanded by Michael and Brouage. These men had received information, that a very valuable cargo was then shipping at Carthagena in two foreign vessels, on purpose to elude their vigilance. Stimulated both by hope and danger, they went in pursuit, and found two Dutch ships laden with the treasure. They boarded and plundered them. The captain of the Dutchman, finding himself pillaged by a force so much inferior to his own, told Michael the Buccanier, that if he had been alone, he would not have been so successful. "Let us begin the fight again (replied Michael), and my companion shall only be spectator of the engagement; but if I conquer you the second time, I will not only have the gold and silver you carry on board, but both of your ships into the bargain." The Dutchmen took care to refuse, while refusal was in their power, and immediately made off.

Another instance occurs in the case of one Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe. He had on board his vessel no more than twenty-eight seamen, yet had the hardihood to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He drew his vessel along-side, threw his men on board the galleon; and immediately sunk his own ship. This daring action so alarmed the Spaniards, that, from being astonished, they became intimidated, and were unable to make any resistance. The captain of the galleons was engaged in some play with his friend, and knew not what had passed. Legrand went to his cabin, and presented a pistol to his throat, commanding him instantly to surrender, which was accordingly done. The captain and the greater part of his crew were then landed on the nearest cape as an useless load, and only a few sailors were kept to assist Legrand and his crew in managing so large a ship.

These instances sufficiently evince the courage and unconquerable resolution by which these men were actuated. Numerous instances might be adduced in addition to the above specimens of Buccaniering courage; but they vary only in circumstances of valour. The same invincible spirit manifested itself in all their actions; and almost every enterprise was marked with some new heroic deed.

The general place of rendezvous, we have already observed, was the small island of Tortuga, which they had fortified and made capable of repelling a considerable force. But this place was only resorted to in early days. In process of time,

when wars and treaties had made a new distribution of the West India Islands, and Buccaniering became a legal trade in Europe, these desperadoes sought out distant abodes. The French resorted to St. Domingo, and the English carried the produce of their plunder to Jamaica. The property thus acquired at the hazard of their lives, was wasted by these adventurers with a prodigality which knew no bounds. Licentiousness in all its branches prevailed among them, till profusion conducted them to want, and this pushed them on again to new adventures. In the mean while, the colonies acquired affluence at the expense of Spain through the medium of the Buccaniers; and engrossed that wealth which these adventurous robbers had wasted, and which Spain had wrung from the pangs of the suffering natives. Thus the immense riches which had been so infamously stolen by the Spaniards, and of which in their turns they had been robbed on the high seas by the Buccaniers, were spent by these marauders in unexampled extravagance, and served at last to enrich in part the island of Jamaica, which by the force of arms we had wrested from the crown of Spain. Thus men, who were occasionally enriched with several millions, were reduced in a short time through their extreme profusion to penury and want, being oftentimes destitute both of provision and clothes.

The prodigality manifested by these infatuated plunderers, could not fail to excite the notice and even the compassion of those, who on the island were enriched by their spoils. They were sometimes asked, while lavishing thousands, what satisfaction they could find in such riot and dissipation as then marked their conduct? and why they wasted with such extravagance what they had earned with so much difficulty? The answer which they gave to such questions was perfectly in unison with their conduct. Their general reply was—"Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we have lived, and never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life than to preserve it."

It is, however, but just to make some remarks on the regulations which they had adopted among themselves for the distribution of the wealth which they had acquired with so much hazard. When their prize was conducted to the island of its destination, each man on board was called upon to make his declaration, that he had neither secreted nor purloined any article. This declaration was considered as an oath, and instances of its violation were rarely to be found. But if it should so

happen, that any one among them was found guilty of perjury, by making a false deposition, he was only kept among them till an opportunity offered; when he was put on shore on some uninhabited island, as a delinquent unworthy to live in society. Such was the method which these men, who lived by plunder, took to punish and prevent dishonesty!

This ceremony being past, the next step was to provide for those who had been wounded in the action. The loss of an arm, a leg, a hand, or foot, was estimated at 500 crowns; while an eye, a finger, or a toe, lost in battle, was valued at 250 crowns; and other wounds and damages in proportion. At the same time, those who were wounded, were allowed one crown per day to obtain surgical assistance, till they had recovered from their misfortunes. These demands were always held sacred, and were constantly satisfied before any general division of the plunder took place.

But if it so happened, that the wealth acquired was insufficient to answer these demands, the whole company found themselves bound by every tie of honour to embark on some new expedition, and to continue their exertions till they found themselves masters of a sufficient capital to pay the wounded, and fulfil the contract which they had originally made.

When these demands of justice and humanity were satisfied, the remainder of the booty was submitted to a regular division. The captain was on an equal footing with his men: his authority ceased with the battle, and every portion was appropriated by lot. But if the captain had conducted them with singular address, or shewn in his own actions any distinguishing features of bravery, his crew, on the division of the public spoil, generally made him a present of some share which he had no right to claim.

When the vessel which had taken the prize was not the joint property of all on board, which sometimes was the case, one third part of all the wealth to be divided became the property of the proprietors, to be disposed of as their own prudence should incline them to direct.

The various lots into which they divided the plunder, extended to those of their brave companions who had fallen in the conflict which gave them the prize. Their lot went to their most intimate associates, who were known to be their companions when alive, and were therefore considered as their proper heirs now they were dead. If no such associate could be found, the portion of the deceased went to his nearest relation. But when neither associate nor relation could be discovered, the lot of the deceased was appropriated to charitable purposes; sometimes to relieve the distressed, and sometimes to polish the chains of

superstition. Occasionally this property was given to the poor; at other times it was given to the church, or to churches, the ministers of which were to pray for the soul of him in whose name the bequest was made. Thus the produce of robbery, by passing through the alembic of death, became a charitable donation; and the Author of mercy was insulted, and his altar profaned with superstition, with hypocrisy, with plunder, and with blood.

To the discharge of these duties, succeeded those scenes of riot, dissipation, and debauchery, which have been already described. In this routine, their midnight orgies were chanted to the demons by which they had been inspired; it was a barbarous festivity, which glutted even the guilty passions, and transformed that being, whose mode of life had reduced him from a man to a savage, from a savage into a monster in human form. And though poverty soon laid an embargo on excess, it was only to kindle again that ferocity which had lain asleep, but which now staggered forth from the drenches of intoxication, to acquire more wealth, and to swell the black catalogue of human devastations.

The havoc which these strange adventurers had made, and were continually making, upon the wealth of Spain, produced in the merchants of that country that visible languor which generally succeeds to disappointed hopes. For a season they flattered themselves with better days, and with ardent hopes that perseverance alone would enable them to repair the losses which they had sustained. But these hopes were found delusive. The success of the Buccaniers had increased their numbers; depredations became more common; and the frequency of the depredations had consigned over the Spanish merchants a prey to despair. The seas were almost abandoned; communications between the Spanish colonies were nearly shut up, because it was too dangerous to venture upon navigation. The Buccaniers were the terror of all both by sea and land; the Spaniards preferred the inconveniencies of shutting up all intercourse with each other, to falling into their hands; they viewed them as rapacious, unconquerable, and savage, and sunk down into a state of indolent despair. "This (says Raynal) was the rise of that spirit of inactivity which continues to the present day."

This new mode of conduct on the part of Spain produced also a change of measures among the Buccaniers. They soon found that their captures were considerably diminished; and to supply this deficiency, they used their ships chiefly as vehicles to carry them to those rich provinces which were the grand sources of wealth.

Hitherto their depredations had been confined to the ocean,

to the intercepting of ships on their passage, and to the plundering of them on the high seas. It is true, they had occasionally visited the Spanish settlements in times of peculiar distress, but it was only to obtain provisions; and in such expeditions they took with them nothing but the necessaries of life, to satisfy the calls of hunger, and to supply their immediate wants. But the conduct of these pirates now assumed a different appearance; the public roads were as much infested on shore as the frequented latitudes had been on the public seas; and the Spaniards, who had been driven from the water, durst hardly appear on the land.

A new race of adventurers now started into existence, and new associations were formed. The wars of Europe had given countenance to these freebooters, and they obtained licences from their respective courts to act with vigour against Spain. The heroes who signalized themselves in this new species of adventurous excursion, the feats of valour which they performed, and the amazing booty which they obtained, it would be rather too remote from the design of this work to give in detail. The seas swarmed with pirates, and the land was infested with their crews. Michael de Basco, whose name has been already introduced, distinguished himself by taking a Spanish ship of war even under the cannon of Porto Bello, the cargo of which was estimated at no less than two hundred eighteen thousand five hundred pounds, which De Basco safely conducted to Tortuga. In this port he was met and joined by one Montbar, a desperado of France, who had made himself the terror of the Spaniards by his daring exploits, and had obtained from them the name of the Exterminator.

These heroes of the sword, who were as much idolized by the Buccaniers, as they were dreaded and detested by the Spaniards, having published among their associates that they were about to embark in an enterprise which was at once both daring and glorious, soon obtained a strong party, to the number of four hundred and forty. These men, equally athirst for gold and honour, were equipped for the expedition, and exhibited the most formidable force that the Buccaniers had hitherto collected. They sailed from Tortuga, and entered the bay of Venezula,* which runs up into the country about fifty leagues. Their object was plunder. The entrance into the bay was guarded by a fort which was defended by 250 men. This

* Venezula lies on the continent of South America, in about 10° north latitude, and about 71° 30′ west of London

fort they carried by storm; they then spiked the cannon, and put every person to the sword. From thence they proceeded to a city about ten leagues distant, which was both rich and flourishing; but the inhabitants, having had timely notice of their approaches, had abandoned their habitations, and taken with them their most valuable articles. The invaders, regardless of the immense booty which they were pursuing, took a temporary possession of the city, and spent a fortnight in riot and debauch. Awaking, however, at last from their lethargy, they began to prosecute their pursuit; but the moment was past. They were annoyed in their progress by batteries which the Spaniards had newly erected, and which they had the honour of attacking and demolishing, without finding any thing remarkably valuable to reward them for their toil.

Exasperated at this expensive disappointment, and finding no better prospect to encourage them to persevere, in a fit of frantic rage they set fire to a town named Gibraltar at the extremity of their journey, and consumed it to ashes. From Gibraltar they returned to Maracaybo, the town which had detained them in debauchery; and resolving to indulge their vengeance, if they could not gratify their avarice, they were about to consume it also with fire. But the inhabitants prevented the catastrophe by paying for its preservation an exorbitant ransom. To this sum, which the Buccaniers had received for the ransom of the city, they added the plunder which either houses or churches afforded them. The crosses, the bells, the pictures and other valuables, which enriched the religious edifices, were taken away as the spoils of war, put on board their vessels, and conducted to Tortuga. That the articles which they had taken from the churches were of a sacred nature, they were ready to admit, agreeably to their own superstitious notions; and they were satisfied that it would be sacrilegious to apply them to uses which were deemed profane. To satisfy all scruples which might arise from these considerations, their declarations were, that they intended building a chapel in the island of Tortuga, which was to be embellished with the sacred part of these spoils. "Such (observes Raynal) was the religion of these barbarians, that they could make no other offering to Heaven than that which arose from their robberies and plunder."

While this expedition to Venezuela, and others of a similar nature, were carrying on by the French Buccaniers, our own countrymen were not inactive. Morgan, a British Buccanier, who had signalized himself in many desperate engagements, and immortalized his name by his daring exploits, had fixed his place of rendezvous at Jamaica. This commander, collecting his forces, set sail with a design to attack Porto Bello, and

to plunder it of its wealth. His plan of operation was well contrived, and conducted at once with secrecy and dispatch. He immediately proceeded to the port of his destination, and took the city by surprise. But the fort, which lay contiguous, was not so easily subdued. Morgan, to avoid the effusion of blood, and to secure his booty without opposition, had recourse to stratagem, which frequently succeeds better than open violence. Being well acquainted with the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards, he availed himself of all the advantages which these two circumstances afforded him, and impressed both the ladies and the priests of Porto Bello in his service. He obliged these to fix the ladders by which he intended to scale the walls of the fort, from a full conviction that they would not discharge their artillery upon the objects of their love and affection. But in this he was much deceived. The Spaniards penetrated his artifices, and disconcerted his measures. Morgan was obliged to storm the fort, and attempt by violence what he could not accomplish by fraud. This, after a severe contest, he at length effected, and carried off an immense booty at an exorbitant price of blood. His riches were immediately conducted to Jamaica, in which place prodigality and profusion rioted at large, till poverty compelled him again to have recourse to similar exploits.

Stimulated by the successes which had rewarded his valour at Porto Bello, and urged by those necessities which follow excessive profusion, Morgan proposed to himself a new object—no less than the conquest of Panama, a place of considerable strength and immense riches. To procure guides to conduct his armament thither, he was compelled to attack an island, "which (as Raynal observes) was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have held out ten years against a considerable army."

The name of the Buccaniers had, however, so far intimidated the governor, that on the first approach of Morgan, he dispatched a messenger privately, to desire him to concert measures for the surrender of the place as well as himself, without exposing him either to the imputation of cowardice, or the reproaches of his country. This affair was soon adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. It was agreed between them, that Morgan should attack a fort which lay at some distance, in the dead of the night; and that while a violent cannonade was kept up, the governor should sally forth from the citadel to assist a place which was deemed of the utmost consequence. In the mean while Morgan was to attack him in the rear, discomfit his forces, and take him prisoner; and this was to be followed by the surrender of the place. During the process of this iniquitous transaction, a heavy fire was to be constantly kept up

on both sides, without doing any mischief to either. It was to be a war consisting of noise, and fire, and smoke, but in which blood, and wounds, and death, were to have no part. Both parties conducted this farce with singular address, and both commanders acted in character. Morgan wanted booty, and he obtained it; the governor was an arrant coward, and his conduct proved it.

Morgan, having taken possession of the forts and citadel, demolished all the fortifications, and seizing an immense quantity of warlike stores, which he put on board, proceeded onward on his expedition. In his passage he was obliged to attack another fort, which was defended by an officer of a very different character. At this place a real conflict ensued. It was assailed with courage, and defended with bravery; victory seemed for a long time doubtful, and the assailants were on the eve of raising the siege; when nearly at the same time the fort took fire, and its brave defender was killed. These circumstances decided the fate of the garrison and the fate of Panama.

In his progress he met a considerable body of troops who made scarcely any resistance: he therefore entered the city with the utmost ease, as it had been abandoned by its inhabitants on the approach of Morgan. In Panama and its environs, an inconceivable quantity of riches was discovered. Every place of concealment was made a depository of treasure. The wells teemed with wealth; and the caves, which had been unfrequented, abounded in gold. The boats, which had been negligently abandoned at low water, were made the receptacles of the most valuable articles. The forests, to which the inhabitants had retired, concealed a considerable portion of their riches; but all yielded their stores to these daring invaders.*

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* On the conduct of Morgan toward the Spaniards on this occasion, historians considerably differ. By some he has been represented as courageous, brave, enterprising, and humane; but by others he has been held up to the hatred and detestation of mankind.

Raynal, among others, says on this occasion, "that the party of Buccaniers who were making excursions into the country, not content with the booty they discovered, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, negroes, and Indians, whom they met with, to oblige them to discover where they had secreted their own or their masters' riches. A beggar accidentally going into a castle, that had been deserted through fear, found some apparel, which he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate wretch showed them the ragged clothes he had just thrown off. He was nevertheless instantly tortured; but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves who put an end to his life. Thus (continues Raynal) the treasures which the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner."

To the wealth which they had thus acquired, they added a vast number of prisoners, who were afterwards ransomed with

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Mr. Bryan Edwards, dissenting from this opinion, apologizes for Morgan in the following manner: "The favour extended by the king to Henry Morgan, the most celebrated of the English Buccaniers (a man indeed of an elevated mind and invincible courage) arose, doubtless, in a great measure from the good understanding [i. e. from the king's having a share in the booty] that prevailed between them in the copartnership that I have mentioned. When the earl of Carlisle returned from Jamaica, Morgan was appointed deputy governor and lieutenant-general in his absence; and proceeding himself at a subsequent period to England, he was received very graciously, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his sovereign. I hope therefore, and indeed have very good reason to believe, that all or most of the heavy accusations which have been brought against this gallant commander, of outrageous cruelty towards his Spanish captives, had no foundation in truth."

What Mr. Edwards's good reasons are, he has not told us, and therefore we may plead a powerful excuse for not entering into his convictions. That the king received him graciously, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, will be readily admitted in point of fact; yet the history of mankind will assure us, that honour and humanity are not always inseparable companions. But especially, if we admit that Charles II. "continued to receive a share of the booty (as Edwards expresses it) even after he had publicly issued orders for the suppression of this species of hostility," we cannot avoid concluding, that he had not learned justice, if he discountenanced inhumanity.

Mr. Brown, in his History of Jamaica, when speaking of the Buccaniers, has the following note, which peculiarly applies to Morgan, in whose favour Mr. Edwards appears to apologize. "Morgan was a native of Wales, and the son of a farmer. He was transported to Barbadoes in the quality of a servant, from whence (after the expiration of his time) he went to Jamaica, and joined the pirates, among whom he was soon distinguished for his superior courage and daring resolution, and in consequence was soon after elected a leader; in which situation he had always behaved with great intrepidity, and was as constantly attended with success. He brought no less than 250,000 pieces of eight from Porto Bello, and as much from Maracaybo and Gibraltar, besides jewels, plate, and slaves to a considerable value. By his expedition to Panama it is computed that he got 400,000 pieces of eight to his own share, and about 200 more for each of his party, at that time near 1200 in number.

"He left off his courses immediately after this, and became a sober settler and great promoter of industry; he was both an excellent citizen, an happy planter, and in course of time was admitted one of the council, and afterwards knighted, and appointed lieutenant-governor; in which station he behaved with great applause from 1680 to 1682. But when the peace was concluded with the king of Spain, that monarch insisted on his being punished for his former depredations. He was accordingly sent for, and committed to the Tower in 1683-4; where he continued without trial or hearing for three years; at which he could hardly fail of clearing his own character, as he had always acted under commission from the governor of Jamaica, while he continued in that active state of life. But indeed such barbarities as were frequently committed on these occasions, were not to be authorised or countenanced by any christian power, nor committed by any but such as looked upon themselves as lawless people." Brown's History of Jamaica, p. 4.

Upon the whole, when we consider the occupation of these Buccaniers, the dangers to which they were exposed, the difficulties which they had to surmount, in their pursuit of gold, we must pay a compliment to human nature

more treasure. Having wrested from the inhabitants by pillage and extortion an immensity of riches, they set fire to the city, and consumed it to ashes. They then departed from a country which they had nearly desolated as well as plundered, and reached the mouth of the Chagre with an almost inconceivable booty. At this place they had proposed to make a division of the spoil, and a day was appointed for this strange administration of justice.

But honour and integrity did not always accompany these adventurers. Morgan, who had planned the expedition, and led on his associates to the spoils which they had attained, began now to lay a scheme for himself. Honesty is not always to be found among thieves. Previous to the division of the spoil, Morgan prepared privately to decamp with what treasure he had on board; and in the night which preceded the day of division he set sail, while his companions were locked up in sleep, and at last arrived with all his wealth at Jamaica. A case so unprecedented in the annals of Buccaniering roused the vengeance of the drowsy pirates. They awoke like furies to pursue the robber who had purloined the prize; and it was only because Morgan was not overtaken, that the wealth which he had embezzled was not made the source of new crimes.

The dishonesty of Morgan, however, tended to enrich the island to which he conducted his ill-gotten wealth. It was a booty

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which will impeach our judgments, if we suppose that such men would shudder at an act of inhumanity, with sabres in their hands, with victims before them, and with suspicions that immense treasure lay concealed. A distant removal from the dread of punishment takes off all restraint from the infuriate passions, and justice and humanity are frequently trampled in the dust together. When therefore I contemplate the partnership between king Charles and Morgan, I cannot avoid concluding that they were well met. Each acted his part like true Buccaniers;—Morgan was inhuman, and Charles was unjust.

Mr. Edwards, speaking of the Buccaniers, says, "Of that singular association of adventurers it were to be wished that a more accurate account could be obtained than has hitherto been given." If Mr. Edwards were to change his word *accurate* for *satisfactory* or *pleasing*, I should heartily concur with him in sentiment. The actions of these men present to us a gloomy picture, but I fear that it is just. And the reason why we are dissatisfied with the account is, not because the evidence we have is insufficient to produce conviction, but because it recedes from that standard of justice which as Englishmen we could always wish to see embellishing the actions of our countrymen.

The miseries which had been inflicted upon the unhappy natives by the early Spanish invaders, seem to have been returned to their posterity by the Buccaniers. In the order of Divine providence, wickedness is punished by wickedness. But we see but in part, and we know but in part; the shadows which encircle the justice of God in this life, we cannot penetrate; and therefore we look for another.

which might have laid the foundation of an empire. His vessel was laden with the most valuable articles which a city, that had served as the staple of commerce between the Old and New World, could produce. Other adventurers of less note repaired also to Jamaica with such wealth as they had been able to obtain from the Spaniards. In short, Jamaica was one great depository of the riches which had been taken both by sea and land; the spoils of conquest laid the foundation of her future greatness, and urged her on to that prosperity which at present elevates her to a pinnacle of grandeur, and places her among the most valuable islands of the world.

While the English were busily engaged in plundering and burning Panama, the French were pursuing the same measures in the pillage of Vera Cruz. Twelve hundred men were engaged in this expedition. They plundered the city, and carried off every thing valuable; and after having shut up the inhabitants in a large church to which they had retired for shelter, and kept them three days without either meat or drink, they obliged them to pay £437,500 as a ransom for their liberties and lives.

On the return of the English and French from these enterprises, the Buccaniers of both nations, stimulated by one common impulse, set off for the pillage of Peru. The successes which had attended these marauders in the ravages of Mexico inspired them with fresh vigour; and, without consulting with each other, they both started at the same time. Some entered by Terra Firma, and others passed the straits of Magellan. Peru was the centre of their views, because it was the centre of wealth. About fourteen places abounding in riches were pillaged in these desperate adventures; and wherever the Spaniards made any defence, they were sure to be defeated. They never attempted any resistance unless they could muster about twenty to one Buccanier, and even in this case they were obliged to yield to superior valour.

The cowardice and terror of the inhabitants tended to embolden their invaders, who gained by these circumstances that courage which the natives had lost. The towns which were taken were instantly consumed by fire, unless ransomed at an exorbitant price; and the inhabitants who were the captives of the war were inhumanly murdered, unless they were instantly redeemed. Precious stones, or gold, or pearls, were the only things deemed worthy of acceptance. Silver was too common, and became an useless load; it was an article that would hardly pass in barter either for towns or their inhabitants.

Thus the wealth which had tempted the Spaniards to the commission of the greatest enormities became the source of their own disasters, and procured a punishment for their crimes.

The sufferings of the Indians were retaliated upon their oppressors; the depredations of the Buccaniers were made the strange administration of justice; and the enormities of Spain were somewhat requited, in a national view, by the calamities which were inflicted on her degenerate sons, both in Mexico and Peru.

But guilt and prosperity are not always inseparable companions. The moral government of the universe is locked up in darkness; we discover enough to assure us that it exists, and enough to convince us that it baffles our comprehensions without the doctrine of a future state. These desperadoes, after having marked their footsteps in Peru with blood and ashes, turned their thoughts toward their respective islands. Laden with treasures, fatigued with exertions, and harassed with perpetual conquests, they proceeded by the same routes by which they had entered Peru. Few, however, returned to their native land. Many fell the just victims of debauchery and intemperance; and innumerable distresses, in the midst of gold, prevented others from ever reaching their native shores.

Many of those who returned by the straits of Magellan were overtaken by storms, and perished in those unfrequented seas. The treasures for which they had ventured their lives met with the same fate, and sunk to the bottom of the remorseless deep. Thus placed beyond the reach of mortals, they can no longer hold out a temptation to avarice, nor kindle in the bosom of the rapacious a thirst for human blood. Many of those who attempted to convey their wealth by the way of Darien, fell into ambuscades which had been laid on purpose to ensnare them, where they in one moment lost their treasure, and found their grave. Neither the English nor the French gained any thing considerable by this desperate undertaking. About 4000 embarked in the enterprise, and but few returned. Both earth and ocean swallowed the adventurers, and even robbed them of their spoils. The wealth which had been accumulated in the ravages of four years, would have made but a poor requital for the loss which the islands sustained in their bravest inhabitants, had it reached their shores. The loss was certain and irretrievable, which no power could recover, which no wealth could buy.

Before we take our leave of this singular association of men, it is but just to remark that honour had not entirely deserted their breasts. Of this truth their history affords us many remarkable instances, which we cannot contemplate without the liveliest emotions of admiration and astonishment. Let the following narration serve as a specimen.

The Spanish merchants, finding all their efforts ineffectual

either to elude the vigilance or to escape the power of the Buccaniers, were at a considerable loss how to transport that wealth with safety to the port of its destination, which had been so successful as to escape the pirates who now infested both land and sea. A company of Buccaniers were hired, with an enormous sum, to take charge of a ship which was richly laden, and to conduct her to the spot appointed. What could induce the Spaniards to place confidence in men whose lives were devoted to robbery, sometimes with a licence, and frequently without one, we know not. They were acquainted with their character, and yet trusted in their integrity. The bargain was made, and the Buccaniers took possession of the ship. In the progress of their voyage, one of the crew proposed to his companions a plan by which they might easily make their fortunes; and that was by running away with both ship and cargo, and disposing of them in a foreign market. The proposal was received with indignation, and resented by all. The captain, whose name was Montauban, well known in the days of Buccaniering triumph, no sooner heard the proposal, than he felt himself agitated with that sensation with which a proposal of treachery always inspires the brave. He requested to be put on shore, that he might desert the ship. His seamen, unwilling to lose a commander whom they loved, because he disapproved of an action which they themselves disliked, dissuaded him from his purpose. A council was immediately held on board; and it was determined, that he who had been guilty of the perfidious proposal, should be thrown on shore on the first land that came in sight. A solemn oath was then taken by all, that the person thus to be abandoned to his fate, should never be again taken into service in any future expedition in which any of them might be led to engage.

Such an act of justice would have done honour to men engaged in more dignified pursuits, and would have been worthy of recording under the united exertions of discipline and law. But in its present situation its features are still more strongly marked. It casts a lustre over a night of robbery and devastation, and affords us another proof of the strange combination of features which forms the general character of these men. The grand traits, without doubt, are of a very singular nature. They hardly appear to have been actuated by those principles which in general guide mankind. Neither avarice, ambition, nor an enthusiastic love of glory, whether taken singularly or collectively, was capable of producing the effects which their history unfolds. Even their expeditions appear romantic, and their mode of life produces an astonishment, which can only be heightened by that strange success which uniformly

crowned their measures. Pillage, and not conquest, was their aim. They had no conception of holding in possession even the richest territories in the world. Their conquests in Mexico would have baffled the power of Spain to have counteracted, had their designs been to settle in the country which they subdued. The terror which they excited when they entered Peru might with ease have been kept alive, till all South America had rewarded their valour with its power and its wealth.

But the preservation of conquered territories they viewed with contempt. This leaves us still enveloped in darkness as to the motives which impelled them to action. Avarice would have forbidden that profusion which marked their conduct; and real want, we might expect, would have confined them to those spots which would have yielded treasures through the labour of slaves. A patriotic attachment to their country would have produced a different mode of conduct than that which marked them in their whole career. They properly belonged to no country; they were a community to themselves, detached from mankind, and yet occasionally preying upon all. But it is much easier to point out the principles by which they were not impelled, than to discover those by which they were actuated.

Our admiration of their intrepidity and courage is too often checked by scenes of blood, which we cannot contemplate without horror. An instance of that brutal ferocity which occasionally marked their deeds occurs in the case of Lolonois, a celebrated Buccanier, acting as the commander of two canoes which contained twenty-two men. He attacked and conquered a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. The wounded captives were put to death as soon as the engagement was over. This action was noticed by a slave on board the frigate, who, to save his own life, told Lolonois that the governor of the Havannah, making sure of capturing the Buccaniers, had put him on board the frigate in the capacity of an executioner, as it had been previously determined that every one of them should be hanged. Lolonois, transported with rage at this intelligence, ordered all the Spanish prisoners before him, and deliberately cut off the head of each man; at the same time licking the blood which trickled from his sabre when he had given the fatal strokes.

Possessed of this frigate, Lolonois repaired to Port au Prince, where he found four ships which were fitted out on purpose to pursue him. He attacked them like a fury, and, making himself master of them, threw all the men on board alive into the sea, except one. Him he sent to the governor of the Havannah with a letter, in which he acquainted him with what he had done; at the same time assuring him, that every Spaniard who

should fall into his hands should be treated in a similar manner, and that not even the governor should escape, if the chances of war should favour him with so gratifying a prize.

From the strange association of ideas which the mind is obliged to form in contemplating the extraordinary characters of these adventurers, we feel much difficulty, as intimated before, in developing the causes which could give their actions birth. The general hatred which the cruelties of the Spaniards had excited in Europe, seems to have raised up some of these formidable enemies to revenge the cause of the injured Indians. It was their sufferings that determined Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, to engage in the Buccaniering expeditions. He felt himself urged by a powerful impulse to revenge the blood which in imagination he saw reeking from the wounds of what he termed murdered innocence. Agitated with these sensations, and impelled to vengeance, he joined himself to the Buccaniers, of whom he had heard some indistinct accounts, and performed prodigies of valour. In his first expedition, he boarded a Spanish ship with almost more than human fury; and having mowed down with his own sabre all who attempted to oppose him, till he had completely cleared the decks, he gave up all the booty to his seamen; and felt for himself the highest gratification, in contemplating the mangled bodies of the dead, and the agonies of the dying.

There is no doubt but many others were impelled by the same motives which actuated Montbar; and it must be confessed, that the instances of revenge which were taken on the Spaniards by these licensed and unlicensed robbers, may be considered as temporal retaliations, by the permission of Providence, for the inhumanities which had been practised by those destroyers of mankind. Thus the calamities which they inflicted upon the Indians, were requited by the Buccaniers; so that "with what measure they meted, it was measured to them again;" and all the miseries of the Spaniards on this occasion may be considered as nothing more than the price of blood.

The strange adventurers who were collected from every nation, actuated by one common principle, and directing their views to one common object, differing only in subordinate particulars, seem to have been over-ruled by a power superior to their own. The military glory which they acquired was, without doubt, transcendently brilliant; but their adventurous spirits were incapable of a transfer. The age in which they lived and acted saw their exploits; but with their persons their influence vanished away. Their appearance was as astonishing to Europe as their power was invincible: they were the terror of the age in which they lived, and they still continue to be the

admiration of mankind. They form of themselves an important epoch in history; without competitors, and without examples, in the whole empire of enterprise and war; distinguished at once from the rest of mankind, by their mode of warfare, their intrepidity, their promptitude of action, their unparalleled success, and unexampled dissipation. It is difficult to class them with any other denomination either of warriors or robbers: they stand alone; and are best expressed by their own appellation, that of Buccaniers.

CHAP. VII.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Internal government of the island—constitution and laws—supreme courts and administration of justice—calamities to which the island has been exposed—earthquake of 1692*—description of that calamity—part of the island ravaged by the French in* 1694*—desolation occasioned by that incursion—the island visited by a succession of hurricanes—symptoms of a hurricane—description of that which happened in* 1712*—history of the Maroons—origin of that people and their successive depredations—treaty with lord Trelawney—instances of treachery—occasion and particulars of the late war—their final overthrow, and exile from the island to Nova Scotia in* 1796*—reflections.*

THE influx of inhabitants whom the convulsions of England had both allured and driven into this island, tended considerably to increase its population. The planters who had been introduced from Barbadoes, together with those labourers whom both Scotland and Ireland had yielded, had imported habits of industry, and the surface of the island began to wear a more cheerful aspect. The wise regulations which had been introduced into the system of government had just begun their operations, and the inhabitants felt their salutary effects.

The wealth which had been acquired by those Buccaniers who belonged to the English nation, was imported into this island by a train of circumstances which stood connected with the adventurers, and was circulated through the island by those secret avenues which link agriculture to commerce, and commerce to war. The wealth which had found an asylum in Jamaica soon made itself known at home, and drew to this distant market the merchandise and manufacturers of the parent state. Thus that branch of the riches which Spain had gained by barbarous inhumanity, and lost by the ferocious impudence of the Buccaniers, found its way into our own country, without impoverishing the island in which it was first deposited.

Jamaica in the mean while, profiting by the different branches of commerce which occasionally touched her shores, acquired strength by imperceptible degrees. The transacting of business brought with it a facility of action, which coincided with industry, and was not easily repressed. The claims of one common

concern tended to soften the asperity of contending parties, and to melt down their jarring interests. It served to unite in one family compact those who had alternately reproached each other with offences, which were generally exaggerated, but were not altogether unfounded in fact. Such was the state of Jamaica in the early years of the Restoration.

But prosperity is too frequently the first victim of oppression. The enlightened policy which dictated the measures that Charles II. seemed determined to pursue on his accession to the throne, soon became tainted with the prevailing prodigality of the times, and finally forsook his councils. His efforts to enslave his subjects were immediately felt at home, and soon reached to the extremities of the empire. The example of Barbadoes afforded a precedent for his conduct towards Jamaica; and the earl of Carlisle, at once armed with authority and instructions, was deemed a proper instrument to execute his despotic designs. Carlisle reached the island in 1678, and began his career with an attempt to rob the inhabitants of those constitutional rights, which their ancestors had imported from England, and which had been established by the proclamation of lord Windsor. By this proclamation it was declared, "That all the children of our natural-born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall from their respective births be reputed to be, and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes as our free-born subjects of England." In direct violation of these pointed and expressive guarantees, an impost of 4½ per cent. on all exported produce of the island was demanded, to be settled as a perpetual revenue on the crown. The colonists, alarmed at such arbitrary measures, resisted the innovations which were urged upon them, and boldly refused to accept of an oppressive code of laws which Carlisle endeavoured to compel them to adopt without alteration or amendment. In opposing these unconstitutional designs, many among the planters distinguished themselves; but no one rendered himself more conspicuous than Colonel Long, who was at that time a member of the council and chief judge of the island. Carlisle felt the influence of his resistance; and to rid himself for ever of a man who became obnoxious to him in proportion as he was actuated by patriotic virtue, caused him to be arrested and sent a state-prisoner to England. But this act of injustice and violence produced an effect exactly the reverse of what was intended. Colonel Long on his arrival was cited before the king and privy council, to answer for the acts of contumely with which he stood charged. The event proved that he was not to be intimidated. The eloquence which he displayed to support the justice of that cause which he had

espoused, overpowered the subtlety and chicanery of his opponents, and finally broke those snares which were laid to entangle the liberties of his country, and to rob him of his life. The council, unable to resist the force of his arguments, reluctantly gave way. The attempt was relinquished. The colonial assembly had their suspended rights restored. Carlisle was recalled. Sir Thomas Lynch, who from 1670 to 1674 had acted as lieutenant-governor, succeeded him in office, and the island reposed in peace.

But though the project was thus apparently relinquished, it was deemed too important to be wholly abandoned. The principle, though partially smothered, was renewed under almost every form it could assume, whenever any favourable crisis flattered it with a prospect of success. The claims of the crown, and the resistance of the colonists, perpetuated a disagreeable contest between them, to which the occasion that we have recited had given birth. From the period we have mentioned to the reign of George II. a revival of the attempt to encroach kept alive resistance, and the effects of this misunderstanding were felt in the legislative department of the island. The laws which had been enacted in the colony, and transmitted to the mother country to obtain the sanction of the sovereign, were either neglected or forgotten; so that, though they afforded a ground for action, their want of permanency placed the colonists in a state of indecision, and forbade them to act with vigour under the guarantee of institutions which were neither ratified nor repealed. At length, in the year 1728, both the crown and the colonists receded from that tenacity which they had exhibited in preceding years, and met together on terms of mutual accommodation. By this compromise it was agreed, that the island at large should pay to the crown the annual fixed revenue of £8000, without having any regard to the quantity of produce either raised or exported. But even this sum was only admitted under certain stipulations. First, they demanded, "That the quit-rents of the whole island, which at that time were estimated at nearly £1500 per annum, should be considered as part of the above sum." Secondly, "That the code of laws which they had framed and sent to England from time to time, some of which had been lying for more than half a century in the state we have described, should immediately receive the royal assent." And finally, "That all such laws and statutes of England as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in the island, should be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever."

The long interregnum which elapsed between the attempt to

nullify the proclamation made by lord Windsor, and this settlement, proved highly detrimental to the interests of the colony. An attempt to subvert those rights which had been received as an inviolable treasure, and fixed as an immoveable standard, shook the basis of confidence, and gave being to jealousies which it would have been the interest of government to destroy. The awakening of suspicions was accompanied with that laxity, which seizes upon the vitals of commerce, whenever property becomes questionable and insecure.

But even such attempts have ultimately their benefits. They awaken the dormant powers of the soul; they create a spirit of investigation, and urge the object of intended oppression to distinguish its genuine interests, from those which are nominal and only wear an imposing mask. Such was the case in Jamaica. An attempt to deprive them of their rights, excited in the inhabitants an attachment to their original privileges; and when the compromise of 1728 established the present constitution, the energies that had been awakened remained to act in all their vigour.

The constitution of Jamaica may be precisely stated in a summary manner. Its whole legislative body consists of the governor; a council of twelve gentlemen; and an assembly, which contains forty-three members. The governor is appointed by the king, whom, in his official capacity, he represents; and the members who compose the council are also in the nomination of the crown. Those who constitute the house of assembly are elected by the suffrages of the freeholders who reside in the three counties of Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall, into which the whole island is divided. But it is not every freeholder that is qualified to vote; for though the rights of election are not held as exclusive privileges, from which the majority of the people are debarred, yet the possession of landed property to the amount of ten pounds per annum becomes necessary to confer a qualification. On the part of the candidate who offers himself as a representative, land to the value of £300 per annum, or a personal estate worth £3000, must be produced; and this property must actually exist in some part of the island. With those who give their suffrages, the limits are still more contracted. Their personal appearance in the parish where their freehold is situated, is necessary to give them a proper qualification, and then their voices can extend no further than to the electing of members for that parish in which the property is found. Of the forty-three members who constitute the house of assembly, three are chosen by the towns and parishes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingston, and Port Royal: all the other parishes send two members each,

who are elected as we have above described; and this rule obtains without any regard being paid to their extent, or to the number of their qualified inhabitants.

The whole legislative body thus formed, though nearly independent in their acts of legislation, look up to the mother country for examples, and take her councils for a guide in their proceedings. Local circumstances, however, compel them to deviate from the conduct of the British parliament, and oblige them sometimes to institute laws which are applicable to the local exigences of their situation, though they are apparently hostile to the constitution of the empire. But these deviations result more from necessity than choice:—Islands which are divided by the Atlantic ocean, must necessarily have wants and peculiarities for which one common rule cannot provide. To give the laws which are enacted a legal force, the sanction of the assembly, of the council, and of the governor, is necessary, except in cases where nothing but internal regulations or private acts are introduced; in these instances the formal approbation of the governor is not required. Laws, thus framed under the immediate concurrence of the three estates, begin their operation as soon as they are passed; but the royal assent becomes necessary to give them permanency. To obtain this, they are forwarded to his majesty, whose approbation establishes their validity, or disapprobation strikes them from existence.

The power which is thus vested in the different branches of the legislative authority must therefore be considerable, and capable of operating with lenity or rigour, as internal circumstances or policy shall dictate, before the sanction or negative of his majesty can be obtained. The distance at which the island is placed from the mother country must necessarily occasion tardy movements in the process of government and law. Cases have frequently occurred, in which delay would have been attended with the most fatal consequences. Occasions which start into existence like the moment which brings them forth, call for a promptitude of exertion which will admit of no delay. The legislative power which is vested in the above branches of government, is therefore as necessary in policy, as it is just in point of right. Without this power, the islands could no longer be preserved in a state of cultivation and commerce, nor retain those numerous inhabitants who now supply Europe with so many of the conveniences of life.

But it is not in its constitution alone that Jamaica resembles Great Britain. The courts of judicature are imitative also. That of the King's Bench, of the Common Pleas, and of the Exchequer, are all included in the supreme jurisdiction of the island; and their various branches may be traced through the

subordinate courts of justice and of law. The town of St. Jago-de-la-Vega is the seat of government, and in it the supreme courts are held, of which the chief justice of the island is president. Prior to the year 1790 the terms were four in number, but since that period they have been reduced to three. They then began on the last Tuesdays in February, May, August, and November; by which arrangement the court sat for the transaction of business four times in the year, at equal distances of time, allowing a vacation of nearly three months between each session. But in the above year a long vacation was introduced, from the end of the May term, which concludes about the middle of June, to the commencement of the Winter term, which begins on the last Tuesday in November.

To form a court two assistant judges and the chief justice are necessary; but it frequently happens that more attend, especially if any cause of importance is to be tried. The duration of each term is limited to three weeks. These assistant judges not being taken from the bar, like the puisne judges of England, are consequently not lawyers by profession. They are either independent gentlemen or opulent planters, who exercise their abilities in the service of their country without the expectation of promotion, or the hope of reward. From the decisions of this court an appeal lies to the governor and council in all civil cases, by writ of error, provided the property litigated amounts to £300 sterling. In sums below this there is no appeal from their determinations. But in criminal cases, when sentence of death is decreed for any capital offence, the governor, who is the king's representative, is the only fountain of mercy; and such as hope to obtain it, must make an application to him alone.

Such are the general outlines of the laws which may be considered as permanent in Jamaica. A variety of subordinate particulars may be found in those acts which are of local application; but, like those of most other countries, they are subjected to variation, just as circumstances call for their continuance, or point out the necessity of a repeal. In many cases they can hardly be understood on this side of the Atlantic, except where they are interesting, and therefore can excite within the mere European reader little or no solicitude. On these accounts, it would be trifling to enter into a minute detail of the jurisprudence of an island which, in most of the permanent points of government, so nearly resembles that of our own.

But this resemblance is not of universal application. There are instances in which rigour seems to cast a shade over justice; and there are others, in which too much lenity might suffer a delinquent to escape. Much allowance must, however, be made

for our habits of reflection, and for those modes both of justice and of law which we have been accustomed to survey. In islands which are so remote, variations are perhaps unavoidable, on the propriety of which we are not always competent to decide.

The laws relative to debtors are much more favourable in this island than in the mother country; for in the first instance, housekeepers, or masters of plantations, being persons having an established residence, are not liable to personal arrest, nor are they obliged to give bail for their appearance. They are only summoned by writ, delivered fourteen days before the sitting of the court, to attend it; and in case of condemnation, execution is not granted to seize their effects till twenty-eight days after the first day of each term; and even then, it is usual, where no fraud is suspected, not to levy on the warrant for execution, but to suffer the effects to remain in the possession of the defendant till the following term, with a power of disposing of them to the best advantage. But if after the expiration of that term he has not made satisfaction to his creditor, both his person and property may be seized. Yet even after this failure the lenient spirit of the laws operates in behalf of the debtor, and forbids his creditors to confine him for more than three months,* provided it shall appear that he is willing to surrender his books and property for the benefit of them all. To secure his release, there is a permanent act of insolvency, of which he is permitted to avail himself. To do this, he must announce his intention by a public advertisement three weeks before the next meeting of the grand court, and make known through the same medium, that his books and papers are deposited in the hands of a proper officer appointed to receive them, for the public or private inspection of all his creditors. Having made these previous arrangements, on his being brought into court, he must deliver an inventory of all his effects, excepting tools and wearing apparel, which must be subscribed by himself in the presence of such of his creditors as choose to attend, to whose interrogations he must submit upon oath if they suspect the veracity of his declaration.

That this lenity has both its benefits and evils, it would be folly to deny, and impossible to conceal. When we view it in relation to the state, its liberating from confinement an useful member of the community may be considered as an act of policy

* Is it not a disgrace to our jurisprudence at home, that ours is the only civilized country of Europe, in which a creditor is allowed a power of confining his debtor in prison as long as he pleases?

as well as of humanity. Being immured within the walls of a prison, the insolvent debtor can neither discharge his previous obligations, nor rescue his family from indigence and want. His labours are lost to the community of which he is a member, and his support must be drawn from the industry of others. But by his liberation the public burden is lessened, and he has another opportunity of exerting his powers to retrieve his previous losses, from which, in a state of confinement, he was completely debarred. By labouring for his own support, and preserving his family from adding to the public burden, he becomes comparatively beneficial to society, and places himself in the only path in which his creditor can hope to obtain the property which fluctuated in suspense. On these grounds the lenient laws of Jamaica have been attended with happy consequences, by restoring to society men who had been reduced to insolvency through a train of misfortunes, which could neither be prevented nor foreseen.

Even the gaoler's fees, if the prisoner be unable to pay them when he is set at liberty, are discharged by the government, that nothing may detain him in confinement when he has absolutely no property to command. To induce those whom the law has thus liberated through its lenity, to pay those debts, should they ever become prosperous, which during the time of their confinement they were unable to discharge, they are permitted to avail themselves of the benefit of the insolvent act a second time, should they again become unfortunate. But where the previous debts have not been paid, the debtor is not entitled to the benefit of the laws by the second act of insolvency. Instead of this, the debtor may be confined two full years; but at the termination of these he must be discharged, unless it can be made appear that he has been guilty of fraudulent practices, in which case he becomes exposed to a criminal process.

But though the laws are thus lenient, it must be acknowledged that such lenity has also its evils. The profligate and abandoned are inhabitants of every country, and laws themselves presuppose the power of transgression. The indolent and licentious, availing themselves of these laws, launch out into excesses; and after having consumed, in riot and dissipation, that property which they had fraudulently obtained from others, take shelter under the clemency which was designed for the unfortunate, but not the base. To guard against so obvious an evil, the debtor is obliged to submit to the interrogations of the creditor, whose eyes have been fixed upon his previous conduct: the creditor is therefore prepared with such questions as will either oblige him to fly to perjury, or extort from him a

confession of such property as may have been concealed. In either of these cases the debtor becomes a culprit, and renders himself amenable to law. For if, to avail himself of that lenity which the law affords, it can be satisfactorily proved, that the debtor has been guilty either of wilful perjury, or of the concealment of effects above the value of ten pounds, he is capitally convicted, and must suffer death as a felon.

In the high court of chancery the governor presides alone, the offices of chancellor and governor being always united in the same person. By him also are administered the various branches of the ecclesiastical department: and the probates of wills, and the granting of letters of administration, are as much sources of advantage, as his other offices are of honour and authority. Spanish Town, being the place of his residence, is the spot where the chancery court is held; and the solemnity which accompanies the administration of justice here, adds magnificence to its dignity. The provost marshal, the secretary of the island, and the clerk of the court, are all lucrative titles. These and other public officers are all residentiary inhabitants of Spanish Town, in which place the various offices which they fill are held. The offices of those, whose titles we have specified, are held by patent under the crown; but the principals to whom these appointments originally belonged, having been allowed to exercise their functions through deputies, who rented their revenues and resided on the spot, were permitted to remain at home. The emoluments which these and other offices, whether held by patent or commission, produced, were so great, that the deputies have been supposed to have remitted to their various employers a sum not less than £30,000 per annum.

On the wealth which these deputies acquired for themselves, after having made such ample remittances to their principals, it is impossible to speak with accuracy, but not difficult to conjecture that it must be great. Corruption, however, in this department has somewhat declined of late, and wise regulations have laid some restraints on extravagance which knew no bounds. The enormous sums which were drawn from these departments of office were too unwieldy to be concealed, and too intolerable to be borne. The evil itself called aloud for reformation. Abuses unhappily associate with power, and extend their roots into obscure recesses which we cannot easily penetrate. The wiles of avarice, and the secrecy of extortion, too often act in in concert; they mutually assist each other in the pillage of the unsuspecting, while they escape detection. But in these departments, where the investiture of power gave a sanction to oppression, the evil became too formidable to admit of an ordi-

nary remedy;—it frowned with indignation, and bade defiance to resistance.

It is astonishing to what a height of venality these grants of patent places in the island were originally carried: they were granted for two lives, and were sold to the deputies who bade most money for the appointment. Leases for some of these offices were actually sold by auction for a given number of years; and he who bought, considered that he had an undoubted right to sell. The resident deputy had also his inferiors, who contrived so to advance their own private fortunes, as to become the rivals of those by whom they were employed. On the expiration of the stipulated term, when the office came a second time to the hammer, these inferior clerks were enabled to outbid their masters; and they, in their turns, assumed that authority under which they had previously acted. But these practices have been long on the decline. The Marquis of Lansdown perceived the evil, which was become so glaring as to call loudly for a public redress; and during his administration, he wisely recommended, by an act of parliament, the revival of an article contained in the instructions of Lord Windsor when governor of the island in the reign of Charles II. By this article he was directed not to suffer any office under the government there, to be held by deputy; and by the above mentioned statute it is enacted, "that from thenceforth no office, to be exercised in the plantations, shall be granted by patent for any longer term than during such time as the grantee thereof shall discharge the duty in person;" which by degrees must totally put an end to the shameful practice so long and so justly complained of by the principal inhabitants.

The advantages derived from this island demonstrate its value; and the permanency of its prosperity may be fairly inferred from the industry of its inhabitants, and the influence of its wealth. The interest of the mother country is therefore embarked in the welfare of the island, and policy as well as justice obliges her to give stability to her ancient and permanent laws. It is this only that can excite a spirit of enterprise, or give support to confidence, in the midst of those uncertainties and alarms which the inhabitants receive both from the elements and from war. The conduct of our legislature, in abolishing such flagrant abuses, discovers its solicitude for the welfare of the island, and directs the planter to those principles of justice on which he may with safety rest his hopes. The influence of this persuasion has conducted the island to a state of very great prosperity, and it still diffuses vigour through every branch of commerce, and greatly actuates the grand machine.

Having given a general outline of the constitution and laws

which have been established in Jamaica, we have now to relate some historical occurrences which from time to time interrupted the progress of the planters and other settlers in the cultivation of the waste lands, and which retarded the attainment of that commercial prosperity and opulence which the island at present enjoys. Independently of dreadful earthquakes which occasionally visit this fertile country, and of those hurricanes which almost every year destroy some plantations, and do considerable injury to the shipping in its harbours; this island has been attacked by foreign enemies, and its government threatened with subversion by internal insurrections and rebellions.

The terrible earthquake which happened on the 7th of June 1692, may be justly considered as one of the greatest natural calamities that ever afflicted the world. It was a concussion which shook the island from its circumference to its centre. The mountains trembled from their summits, and tottered on their bases. It was a commotion which was felt to the remotest extremity of the island, and threatened a dissolution to that portion of the world. The catastrophe was unexpected, because it was sudden; the presages, and the awful event which followed, were closely linked together; and the tremendous monitors which warned the inhabitants, at once discovered their danger and pointed them to their doom.

The season, previous to this awful event, had been remarkably dry and sultry; and on the morning of the catastrophe the skies were transcendently serene. "Nature (says Raynal) in one moment destroyed this brilliant appearance." The sky on a sudden grew turbid and angry; the air seemed agitated by some unusual conflict; and a degree of redness gave a new tinge to the atmosphere, which was evidently discomposed. An unusual noise, somewhat resembling the rumbling of distant thunder, was heard issuing from the hidden caverns of the earth. This noise alternately subsiding, and then bursting out with redoubled violence, preceded the movement which was felt on the surface. The inhabitants were surprised rather than alarmed, and waited in suspense, without much anticipation of their approaching fate.

At length, between eleven and twelve at noon, the dreadful shock came on. The edifices tottered, the inhabitants were terrified, and about nine-tenths of the houses fell. In less than three minutes the large and populous town of Port Royal was a scene of desolation. About 3000 inhabitants, with their houses and their wealth, found one common grave. Their wharfs and quays first yielded to the irresistible stroke; these trembled for a moment with inexpressible agitation, and sunk for ever

beneath the encroaching ocean, which advanced in unnatural mountains to overwhelm the sinking land.

The sinking of the wharfs was but a prelude to that of the town. Those nearest to the water first disappeared; the next in succession, followed next in fate. In the mean while the streets began to gape; opening those dreadful fissures, into which the miserable remnant of the inhabitants fell, who had escaped the previous ruin, and were fleeing for shelter in the open air. The water, gathering strength by that power of resistance which the land had lost, began to roll where the town had flourished, and swept from the sight of mortals the devastations which the earthquake had made. Several of the inhabitants in the violence of the convulsion were conducted through some subterraneous passages, and returned again to the surface of the earth through distant apertures, which had no visible connection with that which first yawned to receive them. Of bodies thus restored, many were mangled too shockingly to behold; most were dead, though some were returned alive, and even without any material hurt.*

The houses which escaped the general overthrow could not escape the general inundation. The waters, rising to a prodigious height, not only overwhelmed the streets and ruins of the demolished houses, but entered those houses which had survived the shock, and filled them to the upper story. It was a preternatural tide that was to ebb no more.

"Nor was Port Royal (says Browne) the only place that felt the effects of this dreadful shock. It was so universal as to be felt in many parts of the world. The mountains (continues Browne) rumbled, cracked, and opened in several places. Those at the end of Sixteen-mile Walk, whose interval yields a passage to the Rio Cobie, were closed together, and the course of that large river left dry to the sea for some days. On the north side of the island, a space of about 1000 acres, with its settlements and inhabitants, was also sunk under water. A general sickness ensued, which, with other miseries, the constant companions of such an universal disorder, left the island almost desolate." Browne's History of Jamaica, p. 7.

Nor is the description which Browne has given more dreadful than that which Raynal has published to the world. "A rumbling noise," says this author, "was heard under ground, spreading from the mountains to the plains. The rocks split.

* Of this circumstance we have given one remarkable instance in a preceding page, in the case of Lewis Galdy, Esq. who was swallowed by this earthquake, and then miraculously preserved.

Hills that were at a great distance came close together. Infectious lakes appeared upon the spots where mountains had been swallowed up. Whole plantations were removed several miles from the place where they stood. Enormous chasms were opened, from whence gushed out huge columns of water that corrupted the air. Many habitations either sunk into the caverns of the earth, or were overturned. The sea was soon covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds blown away. Thirteen thousand lives were lost by this dreadful earthquake, and three thousand by a contagious distemper which broke out soon after. It is said, that since this catastrophe the climate of Jamaica is not so fine, nor the sky so clear, nor the soil so fruitful, as before. The mountains are not so high, and the island is lower than it was formerly. It is affirmed, that most of the wells can be reached by ropes, two or three feet shorter than were required before this terrible event—A monument of the fragility of conquest, which should have taught the Europeans not to trust to the possession of a world which trembles under their feet, and seems to slip out of their rapacious hands!"

"In this general overthrow (continues Raynal) Port Royal was washed away, and destroyed. All the ships in the harbour were either dashed to pieces, or thrown to a considerable distance upon dry land. But the situation of this city was too advantageous to be given up. The people had scarcely recovered from their consternation, when they set about rebuilding it. But these labours were fruitless. The rising walls were again thrown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jerusalem of old, was never to be rebuilt. The earth seemed only digged to swallow it up.

"By a singularity which baffles all human efforts and reasonings, the only houses that were left standing after this subversion, are upon a narrow slip of land which advances several miles into the sea. Thus the land overturns edifices, to which the inconstant ocean furnishes, as it were, a solid foundation." Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, vol. v. p. 42, 43.

Perhaps, in some parts of this description of that dreadful calamity, the language of Raynal may be somewhat hyperbolical; but of this the world must judge. The scene was dreadful, and his colouring is high. The calamity overtook them when luxury and insolence seemed to demand the judgments of incensed Omnipotence. "Port Royal (says Browne) was then probably one of the richest spots of its size in the whole world; nor could any people live more at ease, or in greater luxury." The riches which had been introduced by the Buccaniers, of

whom we have already spoken, tended to increase that dissoluteness of manners, which an excess of wealth rarely fails to induce. The enormities that had been committed by Morgan and his desperate followers, had smothered the principles of religion, and left but few traces of morality behind. The conduct which men pursue, when the mind is delivered from all restraint, soon bursts forth in all its violence; and the island of Jamaica was first deluged with iniquity, before it was overwhelmed by the waves. The various vices which unprincipled luxury introduces into an island abounding with money, may easily be conceived. Few vices can be placed beyond the reach of wealth and power, when they unite their influence, and drop the rein upon every guilty passion. Port Royal, previous to this event, seems to have represented in miniature the antediluvian world; its inhabitants imitated their vices; and we well know the mournful coincidence of their fate.

The town of Port Royal, though embosomed in the ocean, still bears the dreadful evidence of its fate. Though buried beneath the waves, which have rolled over its desolated edifices, and triumphed over its departed grandeur, for one hundred and fourteen years, yet in calm and clear weather the ruins are awfully conspicuous to the present day. The boats which support the living, and convey them on the surface of the deep, carry them over the corrupted bones and moistened ashes of thousands who sunk in that tremendous hour into this watery abyss. The earthquake has written the epitaph of this devoted city in indelible characters, "presenting (says Mr. Edwards) an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence."—"What has thus happened (continues that author) will probably happen again; and the insolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a lesson of humility from the contemplation."

Of the consternation and anguish of the surviving inhabitants it is perhaps extremely difficult to form any adequate conception. The various forms in which the calamity overtook them, present unto us such a complication of misery as has rarely been equalled, perhaps never exceeded, in the annals of modern days. The legislature of Jamaica, as a solemn commemoration of this awful event, has set apart the 7th of June as a day of public humiliation before God, to acknowledge his omnipotent power, and the impotence of man. But unhappily, like days of public humiliation in other portions of the globe, this religious institution is basely prostituted, and too frequently supplanted by a repetition of the very crimes that tended to procure those evils which they publicly deplore.

The terrors that were raised by this dreadful earthquake, and by the succeeding hurricane which destroyed the walls that

they attempted to raise upon some parts of this seat of desolation, had hardly subsided, when an occasion of alarm disturbed their tranquillity from another quarter. The French, taking advantage of their late disaster, meditated a formidable descent upon the island. The armament was fitted out at Hispaniola, under the immediate inspection of Mr. Du Casse, the governor of that island. The armament consisted of three ships of war, and about twenty privateers, having on board about 1500 soldiers. Du Casse commanded the expedition in person.

On the 17th of June 1694, only two years after the island had been desolated by the earthquake, this expedition appeared off Cow Bay, which lies on the south of the island about thirty miles from Port Morant, which approaches its eastern extremity. At Cow Bay they landed about 800 men, with orders to desolate rather than pillage, and to lay waste with fire and sword the plantations and territories through which they had to pass, in their barbarous journey so far as Port Morant.

At this moment the militia of the island were drawn off to guard the capital, and this coast was left in a defenceless state. The French therefore landed without opposition, and immediately began to execute their sanguinary orders. Their progress was marked with cruelty and desolation. Plantations and property they consumed with fire; and after torturing the inhabitants who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, with circumstances of brutality of which the Mohock Indians would be ashamed, they murdered great numbers in cold blood. The garden over which they passed, was transformed into a desert; habitations were reduced to ashes, and the unfortunate inhabitants were left to welter in their blood. Settlements were destroyed by fire, and their possessors by the sword.

The females who fell into the hands of these civilized barbarians were reserved for a fate still more ignominious than that death which their husbands, brothers, and kindred had been doomed to suffer. Many of these were exposed to a treatment which delicacy will not permit us to mention, from those negroes who had been their slaves; and even in sight of their friends, who were obliged to be spectators of the inhuman scene, without having it in their power to afford assistance to the suffering females, or to extricate themselves from the hands of those barbarous executioners, who, after torturing their feelings, administered their fate.

In the progress of this journey of blood and fire, about 1000 negroes fell into their hands. These were secured as the reward of their depredations, and were finally carried to Hispaniola, when the French were driven from the island. Destruction, rather than conquest, appears to have been the object

of this expedition. To impoverish and distress the colony, seems to have supplanted their propensities to pillage and complete conquest; and their gratification rather consisted in the calamities which they had inflicted, than in the enriching of themselves by the spoils of war.

In the mean while Du Casse, with the greater part of his squadron, sailed to the westward, and anchored his vessel in Carlisle Bay. This place was badly fortified, and even worse provided with soldiers for its defence. An indifferent breastwork, defended by 200 men, was all he had to oppose. Against this breastwork Du Casse directed all his force, which, it may be supposed, he made no question of subduing with the utmost ease. But the place, which was attacked with vigour, was defended with resolution. The conflict was obstinate, and attended with much loss. Colonel Clayborn, Lieutenant Colonel Smart, Captain Vassal, and Lieutenant Darwin, were killed in the action, and many other officers were dangerously wounded. Our troops, unable, after these losses, to persevere in their vigorous resistance, were about to retreat from superior numbers and superior force. They had just begun their movements from a place which they could no longer defend, and victory was about to declare in favour of the French, when an unexpected circumstance changed the face of things.

The governor of Spanish Town, anticipating the fate of these 200 men who were to defend the breastwork, sent off to their assistance five companies of militia. These reached the spot in that critical moment when our troops were retiring from the scene of action, who, joining their forces, returned again to the charge. The men who formed the reinforcement, had travelled that day nearly thirty miles without any refreshment, and were obliged that very instant to enter into the heat of battle. Their native vigour, however, rose superior to hunger, and the enemy was charged by a force which he was unable to withstand. The French were immediately obliged to retreat to their ships with the utmost precipitation, and to abandon the island which they had thus assailed. Du Casse, having taken his men on board, soon quitted his station, and, having weighed anchor, and joined the party of incendiaries who had desolated the eastern district, sailed from Jamaica with about 1000 captive slaves, whom he carried safely to Hispaniola.

From this period tranquillity was established in the island. The inhabitants enjoyed their possessions without any molestation from their enemies, and the elements were at peace. About eighteen years had elapsed from the retreat of Du Casse, before they were assailed by an awful visitation from God.

The application of industry during this period had rescued the earth from the desolations which the French had made; the effects of the earthquake were familiarized through custom, and the horrors of the calamity were nearly forgotten; when a tremendous hurricane shook the island to its remotest extremities, and threatened it with calamities equally dreadful with those it had escaped.

It was in the year 1712, on the 28th of August, that this dreadful visitation of Heaven overtook the island. The same calamity was again repeated on the same day of the same month in 1722, and the effects which were produced in both instances were dreadful beyond all powers of description.

There are, however, many prognostics which foretel the approaching hurricane, and imperiously direct the inhabitants to prepare for the awful event. A long continuance of extremely dry and intolerably hot weather carries with it an ominous appearance. The skies appear to be much agitated, and the sun puts on a fiery aspect. The body of this orb is sometimes encircled with a halo, and at an immense distance the elements appear in a tumultuous state. But the air on the island puts on a deceitful calm, and induces the inhabitants to believe that they have been alarmed with groundless fears. The tops of the mountains, which are generally concealed from the eye of the spectator, become perfectly visible, and seem to look down on the vallies with a delusive smile. The sky, toward the northern regions, puts on a sable hue, and looks agitated and foul. The sea rolls on the shores with a prodigious swell, and sends forth a tremendous roaring. The orb of the moon is covered with a dismal haze, and even the fixed stars* appear encircled with unusual vapours. A noise resembling that of distant thunder issues from the wells and caverns, and the sea emits a strange and offensive smell. All nature seems in commotion at a distance; the heavenly bodies appear to be involved in the conflict; both sea and land partake of the agitation; and nothing promises so much safety as that island on which the storm is immediately to fall. These harbingers of destruction are perceived sometimes more than 24 hours before the hurricane begins, but sometimes considerably less. In some cases all these harbingers make their appearance; but instances occur in which a few only are perceived.

* Columbus soon made himself master of these astral halos, and of other signs which portend a hurricane in the West Indies. By these means he saved his own squadron; while another commander, who despised these prognostics, put to sea and was wrecked.

These preludes are soon followed by that calamity which they predict. The sky on a sudden loses all its serenity, and assumes an aspect which lowers in angry frowns. The brilliancy of day-light is soon shaded in comparative darkness, and gathering vapours close in on every side. The sea puts on the appearance of irresistible fury, and beats the shore with angry rage. The waves, laden with strange productions, are thrown upon the coast, and every surge yields something dreadfully new. The clouds in the mean while are tossed in wild career, in various directions, and even encounter each other in the conflicting skies. Birds, which appear to be perfect strangers, visit the stagnant pools, and load the air with strange and discordant screams. The beasts retire from their pasture, and bellow with a degree of wildness unknown on other occasions —with notes that are apparently not their own.

In this strange commotion, which various causes conspire to make, the mind is oppressed with sensations of the most awful nature. The appearance of the skies, the solemnity of the gloom, the boiling of the ocean, and the roaring of its waves; the productions which are thrown on shore, the fury of the surf, the murmuring of subterranean thunder, the noisome smells which are emitted, the screaming of solitary birds, and the unnatural bellowing of the cattle, combine to produce feelings which will hardly admit of any name.

On this margin of the Tornado the breezes are at once irregular in their force, and inconstant in their direction. Each point of the compass assumes the empire of the air, and rules with faltering power for a moment, till all drops into a distant calm. On a sudden an echo is heard from the distant mountains, and the forest trembles through all her trees. The caverns issue forth a hollow moan, which joins the echo of the mountains and the rustling of the trees. In a moment all nature is in an uproar, and the puny works of man sink beneath the furious blast.

> " The *North* flies forth, and hurls the frighted air:
> Not all the brazen engin'ries of man,
> At once exploded, the wild burst surpass.
> Yet thunder, yok'd with light'ning and with rain,
> Water and fire, increase th' infernal din.
> Canes, shrubs, trees, huts, are whirl'd aloft in air.
> The wind is spent, and all the isle below
> Is hush'd in death."
>
> " Soon issues forth the *West* with sudden burst,
> And blasts more rapid, more resistless drives.
> Rushes the headlong sky; the city rocks.
> Sullen the *West* withdraws his eager storms.
> Will not the tempest now his furies chain?

Ah no! As when, in Indian forests, wild
Barbaric armies suddenly retire
After some furious onset, and behind
Vast rocks and trees their horrid forms conceal,
Brooding on slaughter, not repuls'd; for soon
Their growing yell th' affrighted welkin rends,
And bloodier carnage mows th' ensanguin'd plains:
So the *South*, sallying from his iron caves,
With mightier force renews th' aerial war.
Sleep frighted flies; and see yon lofty palm,
Fair Nature's triumph, pride of Indian groves,
Cleft by the sulph'rous bolt! See yonder dome,
Where grandeur with propriety combin'd,
And Theodorus with devotion dwelt,
Involv'd in smould'ring flames. From ev'ry rock
Dashes the turbid torrent; through each street
A river foams, which sweeps with untam'd might
Men, oxen, cane-fields, to the billowy main,
Pauses the wind. — Anon, the savage *East*
Bids his wing'd tempest more relentless rave:
Now brighter, vaster coruscations flash;
Deepens the deluge; nearer thunders roll;
Earth trembles; ocean reels; and in her fangs
Grim Desolation tears the shrieking isle,
Ere rosy morn possess th' etherial plain
To pour on darkness the full flood of day."

(Sugar Cane, a Poem by Granger, p. 71, 72.)

Such a picture of devastation requires no comment. It delineates the horrors of a Tornado with dreadful exactness, and marks the progress of its desolating power. The calamities which were produced by the severe visitations of 1712 and 1722, made a lasting impression on the minds of the inhabitants; the day of the year has been remembered with veneration, and, like the anniversary of the earthquake, has been set apart as a day of fasting and humiliation before God. But unhappily, like the former occasion, the calamity is forgotten in the midst of its commemoration, and professional humility and fasting are degenerated into pride, and festivity, and mirth.

In the year 1744 another hurricane poured its desolating breath. It was similar in its progress, but less destructive in its effects. In 1780 the island was again revisited, and the calamity was repeated the following year. In 1784 it returned and ravaged the island. Its exterminating power was felt also in 1785, and again in October 1786. A respite of above twenty years has since taken place. The hurricane seems to grow more dreadful by delay, and its long absence bids the inhabitants beware of a gathering storm. Similar calamities will undoubtedly again happen, and prove more or less destructive, as their violence may be directed to fall. The conflicting

elements, which terminated in an earthquake that buried Port Royal in the deep, may soon be agitated with greater violence; and the spot on which Jamaica now stands, may present nothing but unbroken waters to the eyes of those who navigate the deep. The remains of ruined volcanoes, which are visible on most of the islands, tell us that their foundations are undermining by subterranean fires. The internal cavities will in all probability grow too extensive for the arches which they are making; even the pillars will give way, and in one dreadful concussion of nature the island may be buried beneath the waves.*

But neither earthquakes nor volcanoes are necessary to produce the ruin of an island, or the ruin of the world. The hurricanes which have thus visited Jamaica were capable of effecting the awful calamity. Either element can be made the minister of divine vengeance, when omnipotent power shall give directions; and the fate of Savanna la Mar† convinces us, with what ease destruction can be accomplished when it is the will of Heaven. These awful examples can hardly be recollected without some painful sensations, and without awakening suspicions of what may shortly come to pass. In what light soever we view them, they teach us an important lesson, and urge mankind at large to prepare to meet their God.

But the calamities which have resulted from foreign invasion, and from the afflictive dispensations of divine providence, have not been the only obstacles which the inhabitants of Jamaica have been destined to encounter. From the period of its conquest to the year 1796, they were compelled to contend with ferocious enemies that had taken up their residence in the heart of their country—who were entrenched in impregnable fortresses

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* "Volcanoes are called sulphures, or solfaterres, in the West Indies. There are few mountainous islands in that part of the globe without them, and those probably will destroy them in time. I saw much sulphur and alum in the solfaterre of Montserrat. The stream that runs through it is almost as hot as boiling water, and its streams soon blacken silver." See Note on the Sugar Cane, a Poem by Granger, p. 74.

† Savanna la Mar was a small seaport, situated towards the western part of the island, in the parish of Westmoreland. In the tremendous hurricane which nearly desolated Jamaica in the year 1712, this town received its mournful fate.

The sea, agitated to a degree that astonishes, forsook its ancient bounds; and being driven by the tempest upon the land, overwhelmed the town and its inhabitants; and in a few painful moments swept both man and beast from the face of the earth. A destruction so sudden could create little or no alarm till all was past. Not an individual survived to relate the calamity, or to mourn over his departed friends. Not a single habitation escaped the deluge; the town, with its inhabitants and wealth, was, in the most literal sense of the word, completely washed away.

—who embraced every favourable opportunity of committing depredations—and who occasionally menaced them with destruction, and the country with desolation.

We have already observed, in tracing the history of this island, that when, under the command of Penn and Venables, the British first wrested it from the crown of Spain, a multitude of negroes departed from their conquered masters, and, assuming an air of independence, betook themselves to the inaccessible mountains, beyond the reach of their new invaders. This was the origin of the Maroons. They had felt the yoke of oppression; and being weary both of their servitude and their masters, they fixed a resolution, either to live free, or perish in the attempt. Having entered into some general agreements among themselves, and chosen a leader, they planted some maize in the most inaccessible parts of their retreats, and waited the arrival of harvest; living in the mean while by their exertions and success in hunting, and on what they could procure from the wild productions of nature. Finding, however, from these resources but a scanty supply, hunger soon made them desperate, and urged them to descend upon the plains, to pillage provisions from the new settlers, who at this early period had little or nothing to spare. War was instantly declared against them. Many were put to death. But the greater part submitted to the yoke which they had just shaken off, and only about fifty or sixty fled back to their elevated recesses, and secured themselves in fastnesses which the hand of oppression was unable to reach. An effort, indeed, was made to dislodge and destroy them; but the soldiers who were sent on this undertaking, unable to bear the fatigues of ascending mountains, and of surmounting difficulties which were foreign to their modes of warfare, signified their disapprobation, and the bloody scheme of extermination was given up.

Those among them who had been subjugated, communicated the infection of independence to the negroes who were enslaved, with whom they were compelled to associate in their labours; and each in his turn embraced every opportunity of deserting, and of joining the few Maroons who had been so fortunate as to escape the shackle and the sword, and who now lived in the caves of the distant mountains, half forgotten and almost unknown. The number of fugitives daily increasing, the party, which was at first contemptible, grew formidable from the accession of run-away slaves. This addition augmented their power, and courage grew in an adequate proportion. In the year 1690, they divided themselves into detached bodies, and, attacking the most defenceless of the English plantations, committed dreadful ravages. But being better skilled in the

arts of plunder and devastation than of war, they were unable to withstand the forces that were brought against them; hence they were repeatedly driven back to the mountains, from which they as repeatedly returned, whenever a favourable opportunity invited them to renew their aggressions.

In the eyes of the planters the Maroon negroes appeared as slaves, who became the property of the English by the right of conquest. And hence they concluded, that to reduce them again to bondage was an act of justice, and that even to destroy them while in this state of rebellion against their lawful masters was a meritorious deed. The Maroons, on the contrary, gloried in the efforts which they had made to break off the fetters of servitude, and viewed their depredations on the whites as acts of retaliation for the injuries they had sustained, and which, though severe in themselves, did not sufficiently compensate former wrongs.

Actuated by principles so diametrically opposite to each other, an irreconcileable hatred took place between the contending parties. The planters kept a perpetual watch to prevent the incursions of the Maroons, while these were as constantly employed in planning new schemes of plunder and revenge. Every act of violence increased the animosity of the adverse party; the virulence which rankled at heart led to new enormities, and finally produced actions on each side which human nature blushes to acknowledge.

For nearly half a century this savage warfare continued with little or no intermission. The Maroons assassinated several planters and their families, who had taken up their residence in the vicinity of those mountains which they denominated their own, and frequently cut off such of the British troops and militia as were sent out in small detachments to subdue them. The enormities which they committed generally became the heralds of alarm, and the intelligence of depredations collected the scattered soldiers, and drew them to the spot. In vain were the insurgents beaten and driven back to their mountains with loss; in vain were forts erected and patroles established at stated distances to prevent their inroads. Their intimate acquaintance with the various defiles of the country enabled them to elude the vigilance of their opposers, and to renew their onsets on the more defenceless parts. The legislature, alarmed at the incursions of these enemies, whom the whole force of the island had not been able to subdue, passed various acts to rouse the inhabitants from their supineness, and offered considerable rewards for taking the Maroons either alive or dead. But all their efforts fell short of their expectations; their foes grew more and more turbulent, in propor-

tion to the opposition which they were compelled to encounter, and derived courage from those very circumstances which were contrived to deprive them of it. The expenses of the colony in keeping up a standing army to watch all their movements, were almost immense; and the sanguinary measures to which the colonists resorted, when any prisoners fell into their hands, only exasperated the Maroons to madness, and, by maturing in their bosoms the principles of retaliation, rendered them still more savage, vindictive, and cruel. The legislature, on perceiving that the methods which they had hitherto adopted had proved ineffectual, contrived, about the year 1735, to establish another mode of warfare. The flying patroles were recalled; and a number of fortified houses were erected, defended by bastions, and strongly garrisoned; so that a chain of fortifications was stretched along the frontiers of the plantations, in the vicinity of those mountains which the Maroons inhabited, and which threatened them with a perpetual blockade.

To render these formidable preparations more operative, the troops that were thus established in these fortified positions, for the annoyance of the common enemy, were directed to make frequent excursions into the heart of their country. The forests and mountains were ordered to be scoured, their secret haunts to be explored, and their gardens and provision-grounds to be destroyed. Thus the sword and famine were directed to enter into an alliance. In short, their efforts were calculated to carry destruction among the Maroons in all its horrible forms. To prevent these excursions from being rendered inefficient, each man was directed to take with him provisions for twenty days; and slaves were appointed to carry the burdens, lest the load might retard the progress of those who marched in arms. This method was adopted, that the want of sustenance might not compel them to relinquish their pursuit, while traversing the inhospitable mountains in quest of an implacable enemy, whom they seemed resolved to exterminate from the face of the earth.

As the Maroons were fully sensible that they were unable to withstand their pursuers by open force, they invariably had recourse to stratagem, to counterbalance their own deficiency in military tactics. Hence they divided themselves into small parties, and, availing themselves of the numerous advantages which the country afforded, annoyed the troops that had been sent against them, by unexpected sallies and artful ambuscades. To meet these manœuvres, the soldiers were also divided into small detachments, with orders to explore the recesses of their enemies, and trace them to their retreats, as circumstances might direct. To render this service still more complete, in imitation of that unnatural cruelty which had disgraced the Spanish name, each barrack, or fortified house,

was furnished with a pack of dogs, of that species which has since been known by the name of blood-hounds. And, as if Christianity were to be implicated in the crimes of her degenerate sons, these blood-hounds were to be provided by the churchwardens of each parish in which the fortified houses were erected. These dogs were employed not only to prevent surprises in the night, but to pursue the fugitives through the pathless deserts, and to join in the conflict when a skirmish occurred—we will not say to enjoy their portion of the horrid spoils of war. But even these measures eventually proved unsuccessful. The spirits of the Maroons were invincible. Fugitive negroes supplied them with recruits, who more than restored the number that had been slain; and even their own losses inspired them with revenge, which became a ferocious substitute for more exalted courage.

The soldiers who had been imported from Europe, as well as those who had been raised in the colony, at length grew dispirited with incessant fatigues, and became dejected with the afflictions of a perpetual campaign, and with prosecuting a war to which they could perceive no termination, and from which they could gather no renown. The assembly, on being made acquainted with their condition, passed an act, about the year 1737, for the calling in of two hundred Indians from the Mosquito shore, to assist in the reduction of the Maroons. These Indians were preferred, from their being inured to the climate in which they were to act, and from their being intimately acquainted with that mode of fighting which they were called to pursue. What services these Indians might have rendered, can only be the estimate of conjecture, as they were recalled and sent back to their native country the following year. Thus much is clear: they were admirably adapted for the exploits they were imported to perform, and remained faithful to their engagements. And it is but just to state, that they were dismissed with honour, and rewarded for the services which they had rather promised than performed.

It was in the midst of these commotions, which threatened the Maroons with inevitable ruin, that the arrival of Lord Trelawney threw a new aspect on the face of affairs. This nobleman was appointed governor of Jamaica in 1738. Immediately on his arrival, those rigorous measures which his predecessors had pursued were superseded by others, at once more politic, and more congenial to the feelings of human nature. That prudent and humane commander soon perceived that both parties were heartily tired with a conflict in which each had been a loser,—in which much blood had been spilt, and an immensity of treasure wasted,—and to which, notwithstanding the

measures whereto they had resorted, the most sagacious could not rationally calculate upon a termination. As to the Maroons, they had scarcely any other employment, and consequently but few things, with them, had sustained an interruption. But with the colonists the case was exactly the reverse. The military duties which they were obliged to perform, and the perpetual alarms in which they were kept, drew off their attention from agricultural and commercial pursuits; while the enormous expenses that the war occasioned, drew from the vitals of trade that wealth which alone had rendered the island valuable. The enlightened governor well knew that the Maroons, who for nearly a century past had lived upon wild fruits, had gone naked, and been inured to all the vicissitudes of the elements and weather to which they had been exposed, and who had never ceased to fight in the midst of defeats, even against superior numbers of disciplined troops, would never be subdued by open force, and to conquer them by stratagem all perceived would be a vain attempt. On these considerations, he proposed to his council, and to the legislative assembly, the prudence and necessity of having recourse to pacific overtures. The proposal met with their unanimous approbation. He therefore not only offered to the Maroons lands to cultivate, which should be deemed their own property, but engaged to guaranty that liberty and independence for which they had been so long contending.

These peaceable proposals, held out by governor Trelawney, were comprised in fifteen articles; of which the following are the substance. First, All hostilities were to cease on both sides for ever. Secondly, The Maroons were to be in a perfect state of liberty and independence; and those fugitive negroes who had taken up their residence among them were to be included in the general grant, excepting such as had deserted from their masters within two years from the date of the pacification. These, who had thus deserted, should be at liberty to return to their original masters, by whom they should be pardoned, or, if they preferred remaining with the Maroons, they should be subject to their chieftains. Thirdly, They should enjoy for themselves, and posterity for ever, fifteen hundred acres of land, lying within certain boundaries specified in the treaty. Fourthly, They should be at liberty to plant coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed all sorts of cattle, and dispose of their commodities to the inhabitants of the island. Fifthly, Such of the Maroons as entered into this treaty should live in Trelawney town, and should be at liberty to hunt any where, except within three miles of a plantation. Sixthly, Those who entered into this treaty should aid and assist in killing and destroying all rebels of every description

whatsoever throughout the island, who would not accept of the same terms of accommodation which were now proposed to all. Seventhly, In case the island should be invaded by a foreign enemy, all those who submitted to these terms of pacification should repair to any part of the island which the governor might appoint, and, acting in subordination to the commander in chief, should co-operate with the regular troops in repelling the hostile armament. Eighthly, The courts of justice and law should be alike open to the aggressors and injured both of Maroons and whites; and punishment and redress should be impartially administered to all, relative to differences which might take place between them. Ninthly, In case any negro slaves should thereafter desert from their masters, and repair to the abodes of the Maroons, they should be immediately secured, and delivered up to the nearest magistrate to the place in which they were taken, who should reward the Maroons for their trouble, and reimburse their expense. Tenthly, That all negroes recently taken should immediately be given up. Eleventhly, The commander of the Maroons should wait on the governor of the island, at least once in every year, if required. Twelfthly, The Maroon chief should be at liberty to inflict any punishment he might deem proportionate to the offence, upon any of his own people, provided it did not affect their lives; but in case the culprit should be thought deserving of death, he should be delivered up into the hands of the English, who should proceed against him according to the laws then in practice relative to the free negroes. Thirteenthly, The Maroons should cut and keep open convenient roads from Trelawney town to Westmoreland and St. James's. Fourteenthly, Two white men should be appointed to reside in Trelawney town, who should be of the governor's nomination; that through the medium of these men a friendly correspondence might be preserved between the contracting parties. Fifteenthly, Certain chiefs, then nominated, should succeed each other in the command of the Maroons, in case death did not derange the order; but finally, after the decease of all, the governor for the time being should select from among their own people whomsoever he might deem qualified for the important office. This treaty was concluded March 1st, 1738.

The terms and conditions of this treaty, held out by governor Trelawney, were received on all sides with marks of the most decided approbation. The colonists, wearied out with a tedious and expensive war, to which they could otherwise see no prospect of a termination, beheld in these overtures an opportunity of making allies of men whom they had been unable to subdue, and of transforming implacable enemies into friends.

The Maroons on their part, harassed by men and hunted by dogs, watched with the utmost vigilance, and pursued even to their last retreats, were willing to terminate hostilities which every day rendered their situations less secure. They therefore most readily availed themselves of the proposals which promised perpetual peace, especially as they secured to them by treaty all they could hope to obtain even by successful force. The guarantee of that independence for which they had been contending, dazzled them with its astonishing glare; so that while they acceded to all the terms proposed with the utmost alacrity, the prospect of securing to themselves and posterity this invaluable blessing, most probably bewildered their understandings, and induced them to submit to conditions to which, on more mature deliberation, they had no intention to adhere. In the delirium of the moment, they seemed to have forgotten that they were about to engage, by treaty, to prevent the negro slaves, who inherited one common birthright with their ancestors, from acquiring that independence which their own forefathers had obtained by abandoning their Spanish masters, and which they themselves had supported by maintaining a constant depredatory war against the present colonists. Under these circumstances, it was but natural to suppose, that when the paroxysm of the moment had subsided, and their minds were permitted to operate in their natural channel, they would, secretly or publicly, take part with the negroes whom they had stipulated not to harbour, and finally assist them in procuring that independence which the treaty had made their own. And finally, as opposition to such an insurrection must be expected, that they would make with the insurgents a cause as common as their complexion, fall upon the white inhabitants together, and endeavour to exterminate them from the island at a stroke.

However probable this future conduct of the Maroons might have been, respecting their behaviour towards the negroes, a considerable time elapsed before any other evidence was afforded than that which conjecture has supplied. It was in the year 1760, when the negro slaves attempted a general insurrection throughout the island, that the Maroons afforded the government an opportunity of forming a just estimate of their character. The revolt first broke out in the parish of St. Mary. Its extent was not properly known; but on such an eventful occasion consternation followed report, and the inhabitants of the island became exceedingly alarmed. The soldiers were immediately under arms, and an express was sent to the Maroons for them to hasten to the scene of action, and join their forces to those of the whites, agreeably to the articles of the treaty which

We have just surveyed. A detachment from their head-quarters, after some days, obeyed the summons. The tardiness of their movements, however, gave but too much reason for suspicions that they were less solicitous about the suppression of the insurrection, than about the watching of the fortune of the day. Prior to their arrival, the colonial militia had defeated the slaves at a place called Heywood Hall; and the intelligence of this victory, it is most probable, expedited their departure, and determined them which side of the question to take. The insurgents who had escaped the catastrophe of the day had retired to a neighbouring wood; and the Maroons, having hitherto borne no active part in the conflict, and being better acquainted with the nature of bush-fighting than the white people, were directed to pursue the fugitives. Further, as their views were well known to be mercenary, a reward was offered for every prisoner they might take, or for every rebel they might kill, provided they brought some indubitable trophy of their conquest. Apparently stimulated with the prospect of gain, they took their leave of their allies, and entered the forest in pursuit of the insurgents; but after having concealed themselves in the desert for some days, in which they probably held consultations, rather how to obtain the reward than to deserve it, they returned in hypocritical triumph, exhibiting a vast number of human ears, which they said they had cut from the heads of the insurgents whom they had slain in a desperate encounter which had taken place; and to give the tale which they had thus fabricated an air of truth, they contrived to detail the particulars of the engagement, and artfully preserved a perfect connexion in all its parts. A story so well wrought together, and rendered so plausible by the consistency which was visible; and these circumstances demonstrated by the human ears which they produced; soon gained a degree of credit (to which it was early discovered they were by no means entitled), and they received the reward accordingly. On further inquiry it was afterwards found, that instead of encountering the insurgents, as they pretended, they had taken a circuitous route, and had actually taken the ears which they produced, from the heads of those who had fallen in the battle at Heywood Hall.*

* In a war so repugnant to their judgments, and so hostile to their feelings, it is not to be expected that the Maroons should act with much vigour against the countrymen of their ancestors, who were struggling for that freedom which they themselves had obtained at the price of so much blood. No doubt they would have acted with vigour and effect against a foreign enemy, had an occasion offered. The treaty which was in existence, and which guarantied to them their independence, must have given them a predilection in favour of

Scarcely had the preceding affair subsided, before another instance occurred, which gave much reason to our colonists to suspect in a still more forcible manner the sincerity of their savage allies. A detachment of regular troops, which had been drawn out in consequence of the negro rebellion, were obliged to take their station in the midst of a solitary wood. In the dead of night they were attacked by the rebels. A smart action ensued, in which many were killed on both sides: the rebel slaves were obliged at last to retire, but not till they had set fire to the huts in which the soldiers were lodged. During this action the Maroons were invisible. They were at first strongly suspected, either to be the assailants, or to have been in a confederacy with the rebels who were engaged. But these suspicions proved to be erroneous. The fact was, that the Maroons, on the commencement of the action, fell flat upon their faces; nor did they stir from the ground on which they lay, until the conflict was ended, and the rebels were put to flight. These circumstances, together with other instances of treachery that soon occurred, abated the confidence which had been placed in them, and induced the planters to consider them, if not as enemies, yet as suspicious and equivocal allies.

But in the midst of these doubtful appearances, no direct evidence could be brought to criminate them, or to charge them with a violation of that treaty into which they had entered with governor Trelawney. Private instances indeed frequently occurred, in which individuals were guilty of the most daring atrocities. But for these acts of aggression the law had provided, so that nothing could be justly construed into an infraction of treaty. Even their private acts of enormity were frequently suffered to go unpunished; and either through the supineness of the magistrates, or the dread of provoking still greater evils, no measures were taken to subject them to the restrictions which their conduct required. Through this remissness their actions became still more flagrant, and their language more insolent: the most atrocious crimes were committed by them with impunity; and they secured themselves from justice by retreating to

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the English, in preference to any other European power. But called, as they were on the present occasion, to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their countrymen, it is not surprising that they should act with languor, and avail themselves of the duplicity which they manifested to obtain the reward that had been offered. They were evidently required to act in a war which they detested: we may therefore reasonably conclude, that they obeyed the summons with reluctance, and entered into the conflict more from necessity than choice. Their situation was somewhat similar to that of Brutus, and probably their feelings were much the same. They did not love the English less, but they loved the cause of the negroes more.

the woods and mountains, after setting fire to insulated settlements, and murdering the inhabitants.

On the advantages which our colonists derived from their alliance with the Maroons, in consequence of the treaty which governor Trelawney had made, a variety of opinions were formed. In the negro rebellion of 1760, they were considered by some as the preservers of the island, and by others as the secret instigators of that insurrection which they were called on to suppress. By some they were considered as concealed enemies; and the want of specific evidence against them, seemed rather to confirm the suspicions which had been previously entertained, than to operate in their favour. The facts which have been already mentioned were aggravated, to give colouring to their guilt; and even the peculiarities that resulted from their savage modes of life, were magnified to suit the occasion to which they were applied.

But in the midst of these public reproaches, which were so liberally bestowed upon them for secretly espousing the cause of the negroes, there were many circumstances in their conduct which discovered a ferocious hatred towards that people, not easily reconcileable with the censures to which they have been exposed. Of this barbarous ferocity the following is an instance. A negro of the Koramantyn nation had signalized himself in the insurrection just related, as a leader of the rebel slaves. His party being defeated, he was chased by the Maroons through the forests. In this pursuit he was overtaken; he was shot; his head was severed from his body, and carried in barbarous triumph to the magistrates, to obtain the reward which had been offered: and to such a height was their savage brutality extended, that the body of the unhappy African was afterwards ripped open, his entrails and heart taken out, roasted, and actually devoured by the unfeeling wretches, who without emotion or reluctance partook of the horrid repast. On many other occasions they were equally vindictive and sanguinary, and destitute of those marks of compassion which seem inseparable from that secret attachment to the negroes which they were supposed to possess. Their conduct, indeed, exhibited a scene of contradiction, in which they alternately cherished and destroyed the negroes. It was this, in all probability, that laid the foundation of that diversity of opinions which prevailed. Acting from no fixed principles, their attachments and aversions could not be easily ascertained; the impulse of the moment hurried them to action, without the assistance of that discretion which, with civilized nations, frequently accompanies war. The most permanent principle by which they seem to have been guided, was probably a wish to prolong the insurrection, and to pro-

mote that discord which then prevailed. There is no doubt but they secretly enjoyed the effusion of blood which they saw reeking from the wounds of both parties, and that they earnestly desired to see the whole body of inhabitants reduced. In this situation both of our colonists and the slaves, which must have been an object rather of their wishes than their hopes, they would most readily have availed themselves of every advantage, and have made a desperate effort to exterminate the wreck of both masters and slaves. An ascendancy thus acquired would have given them the mastery of the island, and have placed them beyond the reach of all controul. This was an object which must have been highly flattering to their ambitious and aspiring views; and ultimate success would have made Jamaica what St. Domingo is at the present hour.

The negro rebellion being finally terminated, and tranquillity again restored to the island, the Maroons were dismissed from their equivocal service, agreeable to stipulation, and they returned to their allotted habitations. From that period, till the year 1795, nothing remarkable occurs in their history. Their time was employed either in hunting the wild boar, from which they obtained the name of Maroons,* or in cultivating maize, or in committing robberies on the neighbouring plantations. Little or no notice, however, was taken of them in their public capacity. If they were caught in their thefts, they were punished according to law; and with the punishment the affair ended on both sides. But in the year 1795 an event occurred, which was to them of the last importance, as it terminated in their total overthrow, and final expulsion from the island; the occasion and circumstances of which we proceed to relate.

Among the various trespasses which had been committed with impunity, two of the Maroon negroes of Trelawney town, in the month of July 1795, stole some pigs from a neighbouring plantation. They were detected in the fact, were taken into custody, and committed to the house of correction in Montego Bay. Soon afterwards they were brought to trial; when, the evidence appearing decisive against them, they were found guilty, and sentence was passed upon them according to the nature of their offence, and agreeable to the article included in the treaty entered into with them by governor Trelawney.

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* It is not improbable, that the term of Maroon was originally imported from Spanish America, before the island fell into our hands; for, according to Mr. Long, the word in the dialect of that place imports a *hog-hunter*, or *hunter of hogs*. And as this exercise constituted the chief employment of the people whom we describe, the conjecture of Mr. Long seems highly reasonable, that this circumstance gave them the appellation.

They were sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes each, which punishment was executed by the black overseer of the work-house, according to the decision of the court. On being discharged, they retired towards their home in Trelawney town, uttering their imprecations, and breathing to every one whom they met a spirit of revenge. Some of their associates joined them on the occasion, and manifested the same hostile dispositions as if the punishment had been inflicted upon them without their having committed any offence.

On their arrival at Trelawney town, they detailed the circumstances which had taken place, with such aggravations as were calculated to inflame those to whom they gave the relation, and to awaken in their bosoms the most pointed indignation against the authors of their supposed wrongs. Their story gaining credit, the whole body assembled; and, forgetting the crime in the punishment which had been inflicted, the majority determined on vengeance, and declared for war. The aged and more considerate among them, however, aware of the consequences which must result from such a measure, entered their protest against such rash proceedings. But their voices were over-ruled by the boisterous eloquence of the more turbulent, and the sound of war prevailed.

Thus determined, a deputation was immediately dispatched to the house of Captain Craskell, who at that time resided among them, directing him to depart from their territories immediately, or his life must atone for his disobedience. Alarmed at this intelligence, and well knowing that what they threatened they would have the barbarity to execute, he withdrew immediately, but paused at a plantation in the vicinity, and endeavoured by expostulation to induce them to reconsider the rashness and injustice of the enterprise in which they were about to engage. But all his efforts proved ineffectual. They had resolved on war, and would listen to nothing that tended to soften their ferocity, or damp their ardour. And to put an end to the parley, which Captain Craskell endeavoured to prolong, an attempt was made upon his life.

Having driven Captain Craskell from their territories, they proceeded in a more public manner to avow their intention of commencing hostilities. A letter was accordingly written to the magistrates of Montego Bay,* in the rough language of contempt and insult, in which they affected to apprize the inhabitants of their approaching danger, to threaten the town with an attack on the 20th of the same month, and to meet

* Montego Bay is about 20 miles from Trelawney town.

the British and colonial troops in arms, and risk their future destiny on the fortune of war.

The magistrates, well acquainted with the character of the enemy by whom they were threatened, hastened to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, and to spread the intelligence through the island, that the savages in their barbarous onsets might not find them unprepared. But no part of Jamaica had so much to apprehend as Montego Bay. It was here that the felonious Maroons had been punished; it was this town which the whole body that had espoused their cause considered in an odious light; and it was against this place that their menaces had been directed. This therefore stood most in need of defence. General Palmer, who commanded the militia in this district, was accordingly requested to call out the forces under his direction, that they might be in readiness to act at a moment's notice. He saw the urgency of the case, and instantly complied; and, as a further precaution, dispatched a messenger to the commander in chief, requesting him to send him a reinforcement, that the display of military parade might deter the Maroons from engaging in the contest, or assist in repelling them, in case they should be so mad as to commence the attack. A detachment of horse was therefore immediately ordered forward, to act in concert with the militia, as circumstances might require, either to repel the assailants, or pursue them in their retreats. The troops which were collected together on the 19th amounted to 400 men; to these were added eighty dragoons completely accoutred; so that the whole body only waited for orders, and the appearance of an enemy, to proceed to immediate action.

The number of Maroons at this time capable of bearing arms was not known with precision. A collection of vagrant parties formed the general estimate; but the accounts were various and unsatisfactory; and even the aggregate of fugitive negroes, who had been concealed among them, was thought to be much greater than afterwards appeared in point of fact. The savage fury which had marked the conduct of the Maroons on former occasions had made a deep impression on the minds of the inhabitants. The prospects of approaching cruelties had alarmed their apprehensions, and these had multiplied the number of the ferocious hordes. Even the troops were about to encounter an enemy on which they could form no adequate calculation, and with whose mode of warfare they were almost totally unacquainted. These circumstances rendered the quantity of troops which had been collected absolutely necessary. At the same time they had this additional advantage, that while they displayed a formidable appearance, there was a probability of

awing the common enemy into a compliance with such measures as might be adopted, without the effusion of human blood. In a partial manner this effect was happily produced.

The Maroons, intimidated by the military forces that had been collected to check their inroads, appeared sensible of the rashness which had marked their conduct, and expressed desires to negotiate a peace. For this purpose they proposed a conference, to be holden at Trelawney town, between their own chiefs on the one part; and the chief magistrate of the district, the colonel of the militia, and two members of the legislative assembly, whom they expressly named, on the other. Anxious to avert the horrors which necessarily accompany war, the gentlemen whom they thus solicited hastened to comply with their request, and repaired to Trelawney town on the 20th of July, the day on which the savages had threatened to execute their sanguinary designs.

The Maroons, equipped for war, and with their faces painted for battle, assembled together to the number of about 300, and received the negotiators in an attitude of hostile defiance. Their language was at once boisterous and insolent, and accompanied with such menaces, that the gentlemen began to be alarmed for their personal safety. No violence, however, was offered. A degree of savage tranquillity succeeded to these bursts of passion, and a parley ensued. In this they declared, that they did not arraign the justice of the proceedings which had taken place at Montego Bay, neither did they once insinuate that the punishment inflicted on the delinquents was greater than their crimes deserved. But the manner in which the punishment was administered was an offence which they could not pardon; they considered it as an insult offered to their whole body, that a Maroon should have been flogged by a black overseer of slaves, and that too in the presence of culprits who were at that moment confined for felonies of which they had been guilty, and in which they had in part detected them. For this wound, which their national honour had sustained, they demanded satisfaction. In addition to this, they insisted upon the dismission of Captain Craskell, the re-appointment of Mr. James, who had formerly resided among them as superintendant, and an additional grant of lands to cultivate. These they declared were the only grievances they had to state, and the only requests they had to urge; and if these were complied with, all hostile intentions and preparations should cease, and perfect tranquillity should be again restored.

The demands which were thus made involved subjects of some moment; and deliberation, as well as authority, was necessary to ratify the grants which they expected. The British gen-

tlemen promised to use their influence in obtaining what they requested, when their case should be stated to the governor and legislative assembly; and beyond this their power did not extend. Their primary object at present was, to restore tranquillity, and prevent the effusion of human blood. Apparently satisfied with these open declarations, the Maroons put on a placid countenance, and seemed willing to wait the event of the claims which they had now stated, from a conviction that the government would grant their demands.

But actions that are passed cannot be recalled; and those that are marked with indiscretion, though varnished with specious pretences, and covered with the shield of authority, obtain a complexion which cannot easily be effaced. In the present instance, the national pride of the Maroons had received a wound which was difficult to cure. The lenitives which had been applied had suspended the smarting for a moment, but the corrosion still continued. The sore was covered, but not healed. They still felt the anguish of the indignity which had been offered to them, and it rankled deeply in their hearts.

Though, in general, the Maroons were governed by the impulse which the passing moment communicated, they were not altogether strangers to intrigue. They had learned to conceal the latent purposes of their souls under the smiles of dissimulation, and to appear highly satisfied with a prospect of peace, while they were making more vigorous preparations for war. The conference terminated on the grounds which have been stated; mutual interchanges of civility took place, and permanent friendship was apparently restored.

The demands of these perfidious friends were immediately transmitted to government; but before they could be taken into consideration, it was discovered, that the conference was only a project to gain time, that they might banish suspicion while they were maturing a diabolical conspiracy, in conjunction with the negro slaves, on whose co-operation they relied for a general insurrection, and, probably, a subsequent massacre of all the white inhabitants throughout the island. There was also another circumstance which induced them to postpone the moment of revenge. The July fleet of merchantmen was to sail on the 26th; and, on their departure, only a small military force would be left on the island, the 83d regiment being about to embark at the same time for St. Domingo. Even during the conference their secret intrigues had been carrying on, through the medium of agents whom they had sent to the different plantations. These emissaries met with various receptions; some being cordially received and secreted by the slaves, and others repelled with abhorrence by those whom they attempted

to seduce. From an attachment which those of the latter description felt toward their masters, information of their designs and attempts were communicated by them; but the confidence that was placed in their professions of friendship and fidelity, in adhering to the conditions of the treaty which had just been made, so far prevailed, that the governor actually permitted the fleet to sail and the regiment to embark. The delusion, however, was of short continuance. The evidences of their treachery, which had been disregarded, gained ground, and every day brought with it some corroborating circumstance.

Lord Balcarras, the governor, convinced of his error, dispatched a swift-sailing boat from the east end of the island, to overtake, if possible, the frigate which had the troops under convoy, with a letter to the captain, stating to him the situation of affairs, and directing him to change his course immediately, and sail with the transports to Montego Bay. Providentially the fleet was overtaken; the orders were obeyed; and the whole force, consisting of a thousand effective men, landed on the 4th of August. In the mean time the whole island was put under martial law; reinforcements of troops and dragoons made forced marches from different parts, and hastened to join the 83d regiment which had just landed. The governor himself, interested in the issue of the approaching contest, determined to command the forces in person, and left Spanish-town for that purpose on the same day that the troops debarked at Montego Bay.

Previously to the return of the troops that had embarked, the whole island was in a precarious situation. Of the Maroons the inhabitants knew not the exact number, and on the success of their machinations among the negroes they could form no calculation. The example of St. Domingo might, for any thing they could perceive to the contrary, have excited them to desperate adventures; and the secret correspondence between the slaves and the Maroons, who were then waiting to engage in war, rendered every exertion necessary, and called even the most indolent into action. The fate of Jamaica, in their estimation, depended upon the issues of a few hours; the lives and welfare of themselves and families were at stake, and, under Providence, rested upon the efforts which prudence, unanimity, and courage, were about to make. But even wisdom and personal valour must have been ineffectual against such myriads as would have swarmed, if the negroes had attempted a general revolt. In this case, an universal massacre of the white inhabitants would most probably have been the result, and the rich plantations would either have evaporated in flames, or have sunk into heaps of ashes, while the island would have

exhibited nothing but a scene of desolation. It was under these bodings of despair that the inhabitants were depressed, when intelligence arrived that the troops had reached the shore, to co-operate with the militia and dragoons.

The arrival of the military from almost every quarter could not fail to alarm the Maroons to a considerable degree. They must have been sensible, if they had reflected but a moment, that they were utterly unable to cope with the forces brought against them, especially as they knew their own powers, their numbers and resources, and the utter impossibility of their obtaining reinforcements in case of a defeat. On the approach of Lord Balcarras, they were alarmed to such a degree, that the great question of peace or war was once more agitated in their councils, and after violent debates a division took place; the aged and politic declaring in favour of peace, the thoughtless and headstrong contending for war. Unfortunately the latter once more prevailed, and all hopes of accommodation were at an end. The governor, however, previous to the commencement of any actual hostilities, issued a proclamation, specifying their offences, stating their situation, and denouncing the severe measures to which he should have recourse on the fifth day from the date of that paper; at the same time, though a reward was offered for their heads, and their town threatened to be consumed with fire on the day above mentioned, yet prior to that day they were within the reach of mercy; and such as chose to accept of it were commanded to repair immediately to Montego Bay.

The period allotted them for consideration expired on the 19th of August: on the 11th about forty Maroons, consisting chiefly of the aged and infirm, hastened to obtain mercy; but all besides resolved to abide by the decision of the sword.

Of those who came in, two were again dispatched with overtures of conditional pardon; but they were detained by their countrymen, and never more permitted to return.

The ensuing night they accomplished for themselves what the governor had threatened in his proclamation, and actually set fire to their own town, having first provided for the safety of their women and children. They then proceeded to attack the out-posts of the British camp, which was stationed at a place called Vaughan's Field, and in their first onsets they were but too successful. Aware of their inability to face our troops in the open field, they retreated with precipitation after the first encounter; but it was only to decoy the forces which they opposed into ambuscades, which had been purposely laid to ensnare them. During their momentary triumphs they afforded but too many melancholy specimens of their barbarous dispo-

sitions, and by their remorseless cruelties convinced the white inhabitants of the treatment which they had to expect, if victory should ultimately crown their arms. Solitary plantations, which they found in a defenceless state, they joyfully consumed with fire, and the affrighted inhabitants were instantly murdered, without any regard to age or sex. Even the severest sickness could not protect the unhappy victim; the cries of helpless infants were insufficient to suspend the dagger; and even mothers in childbed were obliged, after feeling by sympathy the pangs which their infants had been doomed to suffer, to participate in their fate. No specific charge of guilt was necessary on these occasions to invite the assassin; even complexion became criminal, and an opportunity to murder gave a sanction to the deed. In short, it was a war of extermination, in which slaughter and desolation were the primary objects for which conquest was to be obtained.

The promptitude and decision of Lord Balcarras at this awful time was perhaps one of the happiest events which the island had ever experienced. The occasion was momentous, and the effects which resulted from his decided conduct were great beyond all example. The negroes, terrified at the general movements which they perceived in the military departments, in the alertness of the officers, and the personal activity of the governor, were awed into submission even without a menace, and easily detached from the interests of the Maroons. Both their language and their conduct concurred to beget confidence in their fidelity; so that no danger being apprehended from that quarter, the whole military force was at liberty to act against those who had occasioned the war.

The successes which had crowned the Maroons in their first exertions had filled them with the highest expectations, and both flattered their vanity, and gave fresh vigour to their natural ferocity and personal courage. The ground on which they stood was highly favourable to their mode of warfare, and gave them advantages, which, on a champaign country, they could not have possessed. Conscious of their inability to face the troops which were sent to oppose their progress, they waited opportunities to elude their vigilance, and to harass them by falling on the more defenceless parts of the country. They had fixed their principal repository in the interior of the island, surrounded by those ramparts of nature which art was scarcely able to overcome. From these inaccessible fortresses, it was their custom to sally in the dead of night, and seize upon those objects which, from a distant eminence, they had marked on some preceding day. The roads which led to these places of concealment were extremely difficult to pass; so that the works of nature seemed to

retard the progress of our troops. If these acted with that circumspection which was necessary for their safety, they could make no movements that could lead them to hope for success; and if they advanced without it, they were almost certain of falling into an ambuscade.

The Maroons, always on the alert, and watching the motions of the soldiers from their inaccessible haunts, were at all times prepared with men lying in ambush to attack them in every defile. To draw them from the mountains, our troops soon found was impossible, and in their recesses they were beyond their reach. The war, therefore, which was viewed with contempt by our soldiers, as soon as they found that the negroes had no intention to join the insurgents, they now perceived was protracted into an endless campaign. In this strange mode of warfare, in which the colonists had every thing to fear, but nothing to hope, and in which the island had every thing to lose, but nothing to gain, no other prospect appeared before them, but that of exercising vigilance which knew no intermission, and of lavishing expenses to which they could see no end. These were the circumstances which gave rise to those extraordinary measures, which, to the disgrace of human nature, were soon afterwards adopted.

The inhabitants, kept in perpetual alarm by an enemy whom all both dreaded and despised, waited till the month of September, with anxious hopes that some measures would be then devised by the general assembly, which was about to meet, that might extricate them from the calamities which threatened them. Amid their deliberations on the state of public affairs, it was proposed to have recourse to an expedient, to which their ancestors had resorted prior to the treaty which Lord Trelawney had the honour to introduce. This expedient was, to dispatch immediately a vessel to the island of Cuba for one hundred blood-hounds, which, under the direction of Spanish huntsmen, who were to be imported at the same time, were to pursue the Maroons in the same manner as they had been accustomed to pursue wild bullocks in their native land. This expedient, it was asserted, would prevent the effects of the ambushes which they were accustomed to form, and drive them from those inaccessible heights which the bullets of their pursuers could not reach.

A measure so repugnant to the feelings of humanity can scarcely be mentioned without exciting the indignant passions. The savages of Asia, Africa, and America, when charged by European warriors with ferocity that ought to be banished from the conduct of mankind, if acquainted with the fact, might direct them to look to the Maroon war in Jamaica; and few of

our countrymen, we flatter ourselves, could hear the rebuke without a blush. In vain is this conduct attempted to be justified by Mr. Bryan Edwards. The efforts which he has made to vindicate an action so inhuman, so despicable, and so barbarous, plainly shew us what his sentiments were on the adoption of a measure at which our feelings revolt. He apologizes for a mode of conduct which not even his abilities can varnish. The excuses that he has made serve only to expose the enormity of the measure, which, for the honour of Great Britain, ought never to have been adopted, and which he, as the interested friend of Jamaica, should rather have endeavoured to consign to perpetual shade. Dissatisfied himself with the palliatives which he has administered, he resorts to the urgency of the occasion, as affording him firmest footing; and finally resolves into necessity an expedient which is utterly indefensible; for a measure which is in itself inhuman becomes amplified in detail, by those very attempts which are made to give it a colouring that it will not receive: so that the pains which he has taken to extinguish the sparks of humanity in our bosoms toward the ferocious Maroons, only direct our attention to those deeds at which every generous feeling recoils. They were, what this author has observed on another occasion—"deeds of darkness, too mournful to contemplate, too dreadful to be told." He quotes, indeed, a passage from Paley's Philosophy; but it is by no means applicable to the practice for which he produces it. Paley's principle is general, "that if the cause and end of war be justifiable, all the means that are necessary to attain that end are justifiable also." The author, without doubt, had in view, when he delivered this sentiment, some of those modern extremities to which the violence of late wars between civilized nations had proceeded; such as throwing of red-hot balls into the enemy's ships, the more readily to destroy them; or the consuming of provisions and stores to prevent their falling into their hands. But it ought not to be forgotten, that these are no more than hostile operations of man against man; and even the warlike uses which are made of the elephant and the horse, may be resolved into the same principle. In neither case is the barbarousness of the animal properly called into action. The effects that become visible on either occasion, are only those which result from their domesticated uses; not from ferocity which originates in themselves, but to the exercise of which they have been trained with the utmost diligence and care.

The setting on of blood-hounds, however, for such were the dogs of Cuba, not merely to trace to their haunts, but to seize and tear in pieces the trembling fugitives, is an action which need only be mentioned to excite detestation. Where is the analogy

between the blood-hound and the horse? Humanity shudders at the introduction of these canine allies; and Christianity, mortified at the conduct of her degenerate sons, weeps at the recollection that they should so far have forgotten her mild and conciliating principles, as to suffer such a resolution to pass through an assembly composed of men denominating themselves her disciples. It is, nevertheless, but just to observe, that the proposition itself was treated with great indignity by the more conscientious and moderate among them, in their warm debates upon the Maroon rebellion; and the intelligence of the transaction, when received by the British parliament, was mentioned in both houses with horror and indignation.

Whatever palliatives may be administered by those who feel themselves personally implicated in the detestable transaction, posterity will view the subject in its proper light. The opiates which a modern writer has applied, cannot be expected to operate in future ages, when his medium will no longer give colouring to fact. Even the comparisons which he has made will be divested of their application, and Spain and England in this branch of their colonial conduct will be seen in the same unhappy light. To justify this expedient by an appeal to Asiatic modes of warfare, is rather an acknowledgement of guilt than a rational defence; and yet to these has this writer appealed. As men professing ourselves the disciples of Jesus Christ, and as standing highest on the lists of civilization and science, the resemblance returns upon us with reproaches which we are unable to repel. It is a reflection upon that religion by which we are nominated, and it looks like a renunciation of that improvement of manners which we hold out to the heathen world. On the present occasion, there seems to have been a communication to the canine species of a degree of that ferocity by which their employers were actuated; in short, it was a method which instructed the brute creation to revel in human blood.

Providentially, however, the arrival of these blood-hounds, and their Spanish directors, at Montego Bay, in the month of December, prevented that unnatural carnage which they were designed to promote. The rumour which prevailed of their ferocious nature had such an effect in terrifying the Maroons, that it strongly co-operated with the more humane measures which the noble governor had so steadily pursued, to put an end to this formidable revolt. With these views he proceeded to secure all the passes by strong military posts, that no avenue might be left through which they might pass into other parts of the country; a circumstance which reduced them to the last extremity, for the want of provisions and water. The almost

inaccessible mountains, and steep rocks, from which they occasionally sallied in the night, being destitute both of springs and rivers, obliged them to depend upon the rain which descended from the clouds; so that the siege or blockade reduced them to a precarious sustenance.

But prior to the arrival of the blood-hounds, though driven to very severe extremities, their martial spirits were unsubdued. The calamities, which would have been insupportable to men accustomed to any other mode of life, were those to which the Maroons had been long inured, and to which they cheerfully submitted, as the common condition of existence. Yet even amidst their hardiness, the calls of nature became so powerful as to admit of no parley. The agonies of thirst, which in this torrid climate began to prey upon their vitals, forbade them to remain in an inactive state. A small party of these barbarians, eluding the vigilance with which they were watched, found means to descend from the mountains to renew their depredations. They entered the parish of St. Elizabeth in the night, set fire to several plantations, and consumed much property in the flames. In this onset one Maroon was shot, several whites were killed, many were wounded, some buildings were burned to the ground, and other acts of violence were committed. But these triumphs were of short duration. A more powerful force soon compelled them to retire to their native haunts, whence they were never afterwards able to sally in the parade of war.

Perceiving, shortly after this event, through the good discipline and perseverance of the regular troops and militia, and the prudent conduct of the officers, that all external supplies were cut off, a considerable body of the Maroons most humbly sued for peace, upon almost any terms which Lord Balcarras might think proper to impose. Much altercation ensued among our officers in consequence of these solicitations. The arrival of the blood-hounds had evidently a considerable influence in dictating their submission; and hence it was inferred, that their proposals were insincere. His lordship, however, humanely acceded to their earnest solicitations, upon the following conditions: that they should implore his majesty's pardon on their knees —that their future residence should be restricted to some particular part of the island, hereafter to be determined; and, finally, that those fugitive slaves, whom they had either harboured or seduced from their allegiance to their masters, should be immiately delivered up—that in consideration of these compliances, all hostilities should cease, their lives and liberties should be sacred, and Jamaica should still afford them an asylum.— These proposals were issued on the 21st of December, and ten

days were allowed them to deliberate on their contents, and form a final determination. But a small number only availed themselves of these pacific overtures within the time prescribed; the remainder returned to their old haunts, and joined the main body which still held out; so that all hopes of an amicable accommodation were cut off.

The obstinacy which marked their conduct influenced the whites to have recourse to their canine allies, to obtain by violence that unqualified submission which they well knew they must shortly be compelled to yield. That lenitives had been repeatedly applied where force might have been used, is evident from the various incidents which their history affords; and it is with regret that we must acknowledge they were not attended with that success which they were calculated to procure. The Maroons, in all likelihood, attributing these gentle measures to an inability, on the part of the whites, to obtain by arms that conquest at which they thus aimed by stratagem, were unwilling to yield submission till resistance was no longer in their power. This induced them to hold out to the last extremity, to waver in uncertainty between compliance and opposition, and to hesitate whether they should defend their independence or abandon it for ever. It was this which prevailed upon the colonists and soldiers to resort to the disgraceful expedient, which has sullied the glory of their arms and valour with a stain which no apology can erase.

Lord Balcarras, finding that all his designs of mercy had been defeated, issued orders on the 14th of January, 1796, to General Walpole, who then commanded the troops, to march immediately against the Maroons who had refused to submit to the clemency that had been offered. The whole body was instantly in motion. The blood-hounds and their Spanish directors, whom he was compelled to take, joined in the expedition; but from those motives of humanity which adorned his character, they were permitted to occupy no other station than the rear of his army. The rebels, however, were fully apprised that these dreadful antagonists constituted a part of the force they were destined to encounter, and felt all the horrors of their situation: their mountains were besieged by men, and their precipices were to be scaled by dogs.

Terrified at the apprehensions of the blood-hounds, which their fears and common report had multiplied in number and magnified in ferocity, they had no time to waver any longer in suspense. Their securest retreats, they well knew, were accessible to their canine invaders; by which they expected to be discovered, torn to pieces, and then devoured. Their condition was become alarming in the last degree. Oppressed with

hunger, and parched with intolerable thirst, besieged by an enemy whom they were unable to face, and who, by guarding all their passes, had completely cut off their communications with exterior supplies, their only reliance had long been placed upon the securities which the fortifications of nature had provided for them. But now this only citadel of their faltering hopes was assailed by a new species of foes, which had been imported from a foreign land. In this extremity, finding the whole armament in motion, which they could neither resist nor elude, they came to a final resolution, to endeavour, by submission, to soften the rigour of that fate which they could not avert. They therefore determined to proceed, in the character of humble supplicants, to meet their enemies without hostility and without arms.

Agreeably to these views, a deputation was instantly dispatched, to supplicate from General Walpole that mercy which they had rejected, when offered by the governor on advantageous terms. At present they only stipulated for their lives—a condition which was readily granted, without reluctance or hesitation.

These deputies were followed by about two hundred and sixty of their countrymen, to whom the humiliating but welcome tidings were conveyed. The young and robust still, however, continued to hold out; perhaps from an apprehension, that as their violent counsels had occasioned the war, a more fearful responsibility awaited them; but nothing serious being dreaded from their delay, General Walpole proceeded no further in the forests. About the middle of the month of March following, these also repaired to the fountain of mercy, and submitted, on no other condition than the security of their lives. But neither entreaty nor menace could induce them to comply with the condition of the treaty of the 21st of December, which demanded of them a surrender of all the fugitive slaves who had taken up their residence among them. This circumstance, however, instead of aggravating their guilt, tends in some degree to palliate their offences. Many of the fugitive slaves had been seduced by them; but amid the enormities which they had committed on the whites, they felt too much honour to betray those whom they had deluded, and chose rather the hazard of exile from the island, than to remain on it with the disgrace of meriting the appellation of traitors.

The Maroons being happily subdued through the influence of terror, without any further effusion of blood on either side, it became a question with the conquerors, of no inconsiderable moment, to decide in what manner they should be disposed of. The stipulations of the 21st of December obliged them to ask

the king's pardon on their knees within a given time, and to bring in such slaves as had taken refuge in their territories. With the first of these injunctions some had complied; but with the last, none: and hence the question was agitated, whether any were entitled to the indulgence which the proclamation or treaty had offered? No proof could be clearly adduced, that any fugitive slaves were at that time actually harboured by them; and nothing could be more unjust than to impose upon them an impossible condition, and then punish them for not complying with the demands which had been made. That those who surrendered themselves within the time prescribed, which was ten days, were entitled to residence on the island, seems therefore to be a point which did not admit of much dispute; but concerning those who did not surrender till the stipulated period had expired, a diversity of opinions prevailed. That the Maroons thus submitting had no right to demand a residence on the island by virtue of the treaty of December, was a clear case, because they had suffered the specified time to elapse, without improving it when it was in their power. But still, the equity of their being exiled to a foreign land became questionable upon a prior ground, even upon that on which the edict of December stood. For though those who submitted within the time specified in this treaty were entitled, by virtue of that submission, to a residence on the island, it did not follow that those who refused to comply had, by that non-compliance, forfeited any of their prior rights. The utmost that could be inferred was, that they had no claim whatever on the overtures of December; but that, in all other respects, they stood precisely on the same ground as though that treaty had never existed.

Aware of the difficulties which were involved in this question, and which could not fail to come forth in the course of its investigation, Lord Balcarras, that his presence might not intimidate nor his opinion influence those by whom it was to be decided, with much wisdom resolved to take no active part in the transaction. The whole business, therefore, naturally devolved on the council and assembly. The members of these respectable bodies, to obtain all the information possible, selected from among themselves a committee, who were appointed to examine evidence on the affair before them, that their final judgment might not be prematurely delivered. After passing through the necessary inquiries, their report was delivered to the assembly, the members of which were divided in their opinions on the exile of the captives. In the division, however, which took place, *thirteen* only opposed the following resolutions, for which *twenty-one* voted. The dissension rested chiefly

on the first article, which the minority considered to be too rigid. General Walpole, who had been so instrumental and active in crushing the rebellion, it was known afterwards, disapproved of the measure that had been adopted, and actually refused to accept of a superb sword which the same assembly voted him, as a testimony of their grateful approbation of the services which he had rendered the colony. The following is the resolution, which general Walpole and the minority have by no means been singular in thinking too severe. That all the Maroons who surrendered after the first of January, 1796, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be shipped off the island; but that they ought to be sent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated by situation to secure the island against the danger of their return: that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the public expense of this island, for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

That the Maroons who stood out beyond the stipulated period were not entitled to the benefit of the treaty, we have already admitted; but the justice of the proceedings reverts back to an independent ground, upon which that can have no influence. Of this point the resolution takes not the least notice. To those who complied with its conditions, the treaty guarantied a residence, which the legislature had no right to infringe; but that the non-compliance of the others with the requisitions which had been proposed, could give to the conquerors a moral right to exile them from an island which they had inhabited in regular succession from their ancestors, and agreeably to the sanction given by the treaty of governor Trelawney, may well be deemed problematical. Let us only suppose that the treaty of December had contained a declaration of this nature—"That all who would surrender before a given time should have their lives secured;"—can we justly infer from hence, that such an edict would confer upon the conquerors a moral right to massacre all who should submit after that period? If so, what are we to think of justice?—if not, what are we to think of the principle upon which the Maroons were exiled? The supposition carries with it its own evidence, and refutes those fallacies by which such modes of conduct are defended.

The second resolution partakes of the spirit of Christianity, and is more conformable to the sober dictates of cool deliberation. The following is an exact copy: "That it is the opinion of this House, that as there may be among the rebels a few who by their repentance, services, and good behaviour

since their surrender, have merited protection and favour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor, to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children; and to distinguish them by any other marks of favour he may think proper."

In pursuance of these resolutions, about six hundred captive Maroons were transported from the island of Jamaica, in the month of June, 1796, for Halifax in North America, which place they reached in the July following. In their voyage they were attended by two commissioners, whom the legislature had appointed to superintend them, and to provide for their necessities such articles as might be required. By the vote of the assembly, those commissioners were entrusted with the sum of £25,000 to defray the necessary expenses, and to purchase lands for their reception, either in Nova Scotia or Lower Canada, as circumstances might direct, subject to the further appointment or approbation of his majesty. On their arriving at the spot in which they were destined to reside, they were declared to be a free people; and such clothing and necessaries were provided, as were best adapted to shelter them from the inclemencies of the rigorous seasons which they were about to encounter.

Provided with every accommodation that could render their condition comfortable, they entered on their new mode of life immediately after their arrival at Halifax. Their situation in the month of November following, we shall soon gather from a letter written by Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, the governor of the province in which they resided. It has been copied by Mr. Edwards from the original, and inserted by him at the conclusion of his first volume; but it proves much more than that gentleman intended by inserting it. The letter, without all doubt, clearly evinces their comfortable establishment, and affords a pleasing prospect of their future felicity; but it also as clearly demonstrates that they might have been made peaceful and useful subjects in Jamaica, if the advice which Mr. Long has given in his History of Jamaica had been adopted, soon after the island became a British colony. "The Maroons," says that faithful and intelligent historian, "would probably prove more faithful allies and better subjects, if pains were taken to instil into their minds a few notions of honesty and religion; and if the establishment of schools, and the erection of a chapel in each of their towns, were recommended as measures of indispensable necessity."

That the Maroons were capable of receiving such instruction, and of improving by it, the letter to which we refer bears the most ample testimony. And no question can be made, but that

they were as capable of improvement in the climate of Jamaica, as in the comparatively inhospitable latitudes of Nova Scotia. The ingenuity and address which they discovered in their various struggles in the late war, are convincing proofs that the same exertion of intellect, if properly directed, would, under the blessing of Heaven, have led to the improvement of their morals, and have conduced to their felicity beyond the grave. The establishment of these moral principles must have conducted them to order and industry; and the benefits resulting from their labours would have proved a satisfactory reward in respect to the present world. Their exertions, in process of time, would have been highly advantageous to the state. By cultivating those portions of the island to which the Europeans could scarcely have access, they would have augmented the general produce; while, by multiplying in number, they would have strengthened its internal force, and have assisted in directing it against the hostilities of an invading foe.

Why such measures were not adopted as would obviously have led to the felicity of the Maroons, and the security of the island, it is not within the province of this work to inquire. Governor Wentworth's letter, and the peaceable and orderly behaviour of the negroes, and men of colour, who have been converted to Christianity by the pious labours of the Moravian brethren, and whose numbers have since been astonishingly increased by the missionaries of the Society late in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley, must convince every impartial reader, that if the interests of our holy religion had been conscientiously promoted by the legislature of Jamaica at an early period, the policy of exiling the Maroons would most probably have never had an occasion to exist; and if the question had been started, it would have been spurned with contempt. Their orderly behaviour would have secured their residence in the island, and no such harsh measure would have taken place.

The £25,000, which was granted for their accommodation in a distant land, would, in all probability, have been more than sufficient to reduce them to order, without the application of force, or the effusion of blood. That sum would have erected among them as many chapels as their numbers required, and would have provided with a permanent livelihood a sufficient number of faithful ministers, who would have exerted themselves to promote their interests both in time and in eternity. Their public utility would have reimbursed the expense, and their attachment to their own eternal welfare would have led them to support a ministry which had been productive of such happy effects.

Unfortunately this mode of genuine policy was disregarded,

and a different line of conduct pursued. Instead of importing ministers of the gospel, blood-hounds were procured from the Spanish settlements, by which means the island has gathered infamy, where it might have planted laurels which would never fade. Unhappily it has removed, by exile and the sword, a race of men who might have afforded it both honour and defence.

As one principal object of this work is, to diffuse an evangelical knowledge of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to develop its happy influence in preserving good-will and peace among mankind, while it enforces due obedience to civil authority among all orders of men in all parts of the inhabited globe, it is with heart-felt pleasure that we re-copy the instructive letter of governor Wentworth. This gentleman, by his residence among the Maroons in their new abode, has had an opportunity of appreciating the importance of those principles for which we contend. He has seen these unenlightened savages taken from a mode of life, to which both themselves and their ancestors had been accustomed for ages that are beyond our reach. He has seen them removed to a climate almost the reverse of that in which they had been cherished, and labouring under those disadvantages which are inseparable from all infant colonies. Yet he confidently assures us, that their behaviour has been orderly and decorous, and that their lives are far from being uncomfortable.

His observations being founded upon their conduct in the early months of their settlement, in which the period of turbulence is naturally to be expected from savage life, encourage us to look forward, with pleasing expectation and hope, to a degree of improvement which the measures adopted seem calculated to ensure. As they grow better acquainted with their new mode of life, and have their understandings illuminated by that light which the gospel was designed to impart, their condition must necessarily improve. But we cannot avoid concluding, that the same measures would have produced the same effects in their native land; and if so, infamy, exile, and carnage, would have been avoided.

The conclusions which we have thus drawn have been suggested to us by a train of facts that will admit of no dispute: and that similar effects might have been produced among the Maroons, the following letter of governor Wentworth places beyond all reasonable doubt. "The Maroons (says he) are now comfortably settled, and their situation will be daily improving. They are hitherto quiet, orderly, and contented. I have long had experience useful for this occasion, and have no doubt but that these will be an happy and useful people. In this

country they can do no harm, nor do they seem disposed to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a missionary and chaplain, with an assistant teacher, to perform the service of the Church of England, to instruct them in Christianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cipher. Last Sunday I attended public worship in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and most exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due course. They are solicitous for this duty, and appear desirous of instruction; from whence civilization will naturally result. The climate is, and will be salutary to them. The children were emaciated, and most of the adults worn down by war, imprisonment, and sea-sickness: they are now healthy, strong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are, therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the most judicious and sensible among them are perfectly satisfied, and happy in their future prospects." If such then were the happy effects of religion upon these poor savages, in the short space of three months, what a change might have been wrought in the conduct of their forefathers to the white inhabitants of Jamaica, which would have been transmitted to their descendants, if Mr. Long's timely admonition had been properly regarded! But the members of the assembly of Jamaica must have had the same turn of mind as Mr. Edwards, who considers "the conversion of savage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Christianity, as a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent persons in Great Britain seem fondly to imagine."

Actuated by that selfish policy which extends the horizon of happiness no farther than momentary or worldly interests, the legislature made no efforts to rescue this race of men from a savage state. The depredations which the Maroons occasionally made upon the white inhabitants, were sufficient admonitions of the approaching danger; and their various insurrections were both the consequences and the punishment of that indiscretion which marked the conduct of the legislature from the capture of Jamaica in 1655, to the period of their exile in 1796. The great misfortune was, that these people were suffered to wander through the forests, and to traverse the mountains of Jamaica, without instructions and without a guide. They were found in a savage state, and in a savage state they were suffered to remain. The principal objects that the legislature had in view were, to keep them at a distance by coercive measures, and to awe them by the sword. Succeeding gene-

rations trod in the same paths which their predecessors had chosen, and the Maroons were always neglected, till their crimes awakened resentment, and led to punishments that prudence might have prevented.

By those wise measures which Mr. Long so judiciously recommended, the victorious but expensive and disgraceful war which we have been contemplating would, in all probability, have been avoided, and the Maroons would have been happy and free on their native spot. Five hundred thousand pounds, which had been expended long before the insurgents were transported from the island, would have been completely saved; and those depredations which were made on private property would have been prevented by measures that would have softened the ferocity of those savages by imperceptible degrees. The inculcation of virtue and religion would, under the blessing and grace of God, have introduced among them the domestic virtues, which the calamities incident to life would not have been able to demolish. The treaties into which they entered would have been adhered to from the noblest of motives; and they would have been the friends of our country from principle instead of fear. The bickerings of war, which from time to time disturbed the internal tranquillity of the island, would have been unknown; and our settlers would not have had to learn this lesson from them—that "who overcomes by force, conquers but half his foe."

But the truth is, that the advantages of commerce and worldly interests engrossed the attention of the settlers and planters; and as the means of acquiring opulence by the cultivation of the lands increased, an indifference toward the Maroons hardened into an habitual neglect. The clergy of the established church, however well disposed they might have been, had no encouragement held forth to them, by the magistrates and other principal inhabitants, to undertake the painful and perilous task of itinerant preachers, and instructors of a savage race, scattered here and there in woods almost impenetrable, and on mountains, and in the caverns of rocks, inaccessible to persons not accustomed to their mode of life, or not determined to sacrifice all for Jesus Christ.

How far a stationary ministry might have been available in the accomplishment of the important work, is certainly a point that will admit of much dispute. The habits of life which these people had acquired were of a peculiar nature, and therefore demanded the adoption of extraordinary methods to render instructions beneficial, and to crown exertions with success. In situations so eccentric, no stated rules can be given. In a thousand cases in life we are obliged to be governed by circumstances

as they rise and pass before us, to which no regular methods can apply, and which no established rules can reach. Just such must have been the mode of preaching the gospel among the Maroons, if an amelioration of their condition, and, infinitely above all, the welfare of their souls, were the great objects which the missionary had in view.

For though in some places it might be said that they associated together, and lived in a state of society, in towns which they had erected, yet multitudes were scattered upon the mountains, and lived in a manner as solitary as the wild boars which they pursued. These must have been sought out in their lonely habitations, or the instructions which were intended for them could not be conveyed. No other method could therefore have been adopted than that of an established itinerancy, which might have given the missionaries a discretionary power to travel among them, and seize those favourable moments of which none but themselves could judge.

It was by the adoption of similar methods that the Jesuits acquired such an amazing influence over the Indians of South America, and bound them to their interests by almost indissoluble ties. But how politic soever these Jesuits were in the adoption of the means, their views were sordid, and terminated in that worldly interest with which the gospel disowns all connexion. Hence no beneficial consequences resulted from their labours, at least none that could lead the savage nations to happiness and to God. God has declared that his ministers must be crucified to the world and every sordid interest, and his blessing has invariably accompanied the exertions of those who have answered this glorious character. His promise is still the same; and he has assured us, that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

CHAP. VIII.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

County of Middlesex—description of St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, both ancient and modern—public bath—magistracy—police—number of inhabitants—mode of living—Passage Fort—Port Henderson—Sixteen Mile Walk—Seville Nueva—its ruins visited by Sir Hans Sloane.

THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

Description of St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, and the other Towns and Parishes, &c.

HAVING taken a general survey of Jamaica, and considered it in a collective point of view, we now proceed to a nearer inspection, in which we must dissect and analyze its parts. Enjoying the same common government with ourselves, and being peopled with inhabitants from various parts of the British dominions, a likeness to our native land is preserved, not only in constitution and laws, but also in those subordinate departments which appear in topographical descriptions.

The island is divided into counties, and these counties again into parishes; all which divisions bear a near resemblance to those of the mother country. The names of the counties are Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall: to each of these we shall direct the attention of the reader as they pass in succession before us, noting at the same time those peculiarities in them which may be deemed worthy of regard. We shall begin with Middlesex, and the town of St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town.

This capital of the county of Middlesex, now most commonly called Spanish Town, may be considered as the metropolis of the island. As it is the residence of the governor, and both the legislative assembly and the supreme courts of judicature hold their sessions in it, the principal inhabitants of the two other counties frequently resort to it on business. It is situated in a pleasant valley on the banks of the river called Rio Cobre, and in the time of the Spaniards was very populous. At that period it contained upwards of 2000 private houses, besides several superb public edifices, particularly an abbey and

two churches, named the Red and the White Cross churches:—on the site of the former, the present Protestant church was erected. It is related, that these were the only religious edifices which were not destroyed in the time of Cromwell.

The native indolence of the Spaniards had suffered the island to languish under the exuberance of wild fertility; and the fury of our soldiers in Cromwell's time almost completed the desolation. The cattle, which swarmed in multitudes, were destroyed with wantonness; and the provisions which were growing in the earth were rooted up. Public edifices became public victims, and the effects of conquest were ruin and destruction. In the midst of these contemptible triumphs, they likewise demolished a great number of private houses; and many others were suffered, in the course of time, to fall into ruins: so that at present, being an inland town, and not concerned in the general commerce of the island, Spanish Town is reduced within a narrow compass. The number of houses inhabited by white persons do not amount to more than five hundred, belonging chiefly to wealthy people, and the principal officers of government, with their dependents, who live in a very gay and very luxurious style.

The principal public edifice is, the government or king's house, erected by a general contribution of the wealthy planters and other inhabitants of the island. It is sumptuously furnished, the total expenditure amounting to £30,000, Jamaica currency; and is esteemed, by the best judges who have visited the West India Islands, to be the noblest government house in the British Colonies: it is even twice as magnificent as that of the United States. Its situation is on the great square or parade.

On the opposite side, directly fronting this magnificent residence of the governor's for the time being, the inhabitants of the island began about the year 1756 to erect, at their own expense, an immense pile of spacious apartments, rather than a regular house. These are calculated to contain, under one roof, the assembly-room or house of commons, the speaker's chamber, the court-house, and jury-room, on the upper story; and on the ground floor, suitable offices for the secretary of the island, the provost marshal, the register of the court of chancery, and the clerks of the crown and of the courts of law. Such a vast undertaking necessarily made but a slow progress, the sums requisite to complete the whole being paid in by instalments; so that it was upwards of thirty years before it was entirely occupied.

This new building supplies the place of the old court-house on the north side of the parade. Here every commander in

chief, on his first arrival, takes the usual oaths, before he enters upon the functions of his government. At other times it is used for the elections of parish officers; and upon any occasion of internal alarm, or the apprehension of an invasion from foreign enemies, when the island is subjected to martial law, it serves as a guard-room for the militia. Another remarkable building on the south side of the square is the arsenal, still called the chapel, because it was formerly consecrated to public worship: it generally has a considerable stand of small arms, amounting to about 3000 musquets with bayonets, and 500 brace of pistols, kept in good order by an armourer, who has a salary voted annually by the assembly. Close to this arsenal is the guard-room for the body guard, consisting of files of regular troops doing duty daily by rotation, in attendance upon the governor.

The private houses of the English, Irish, and Scotch residents in this town, are generally divided into three compartments; the front is sheltered by piazzas, under which the family pass a great part of their time, to enjoy the shade and the cooling breeze; the central entrance is by a hall, communicating with bed-chambers at each end, and having an opening to the back part of the house, formed by an arch, which in some houses is cased with mahogany, and in others is only covered with plaster. Though the back rooms are little better than sheds, yet they are used occasionally as bed-chambers, dressing-closets, or other purposes of convenience only. The kitchens and other offices are judiciously arranged, in this warm climate, at a considerable distance from the dwelling-houses, which by these means are kept clean and wholesome; and this practice prevails throughout the island. Of late years the planters have not only enlarged their houses, but have decorated them with costly furniture and ornaments, contrary to the custom of their ancestors. These latter were used to content themselves with simple habitations, which they called *make-shifts*, poorly furnished; the walls being only coated with plaster, and here and there covered with common prints and old maps, neither of which were framed. At present, sashes with Venetian blinds grace their windows; and elegant pier glasses, lustres, girandoles, sophas, and the most fashionable mahogany chairs, commodes, &c. with the most beautiful painted floor-cloths, exhibit the opulence of the owners in their saloons and bed-chambers.

The church, situated in the south-east quarter of the town, is an elegant brick building, in shape representing a cross, consisting of four aisles, traversing each other at right angles. The pulpit, the pews, and the lining of the walls, are of cedar and mahogany: the pavement is chiefly marble. At the west end

of the main aisle is a gallery, supported on stately columns, and decorated with a very excellent organ, which cost £440 sterling. The organist has a salary of £120 a year, paid by the parishioners, besides other emoluments.

The Jews, who are very numerous, have a synagogue in the eastern quarter of the town, near the river. They are also allowed by the clerk of the market, whose duty it is to take care that the meat exposed to sale is sound and fresh, a butcher of their own, who, besides slaughtering his beasts according to the Mosaic law, generally selects the fattest and the finest.

The barracks for the regular forces are situated in the southern quarter, on an airy, healthy spot, on the declivity of the rock on which the town is built. They consist in front of a lofty brick building, containing two stories; the back part opens into a spacious square court, surrounded with shed-rooms capable of holding three hundred men: but the accommodations for the officers being found insufficient for the purpose, they are lodged in private houses at the public expence; so that the soldiers are left too much to themselves. With respect to the militia, they have no stationary residence; and are strangely composed of a mixture of Christians, Jews, Pagans, whites, mulattoes, and negroes, forming about six regiments of cavalry and infantry.

The other public buildings of less note are, the hospital, the county gaol, the free-school, and the poor-house. The streets are rendered inconveniently narrow by the piazzas before the houses; and, for want of a proper breadth, the wind not having sufficient space to circulate freely through them, the sultry heat of the summer months is considerably increased. The river Cobre, which washes the foot of the town, is of essential service to its environs; not only by its constant supply of water for the common use of the inhabitants, but in promoting health and cleanliness. Every day in the year, hundreds of mulattoes and negroes of both sexes repair to it, to wash themselves and their linen; but for the former purpose the white inhabitants resort to the bath, which is kept in order at the public expense, and lies near the valley, or great savanna. In this neighbourhood there are a great number of stones, of perhaps superior dimensions to any that can be found in any other spot upon the face of the earth. It is absolutely astonishing to see so many, and some of them of such extraordinary magnitude as to be equal to houses or large ships. From the valley you bend your course, in a south-west direction, creeping over, under, and around these vast pebble hills, till you come to the extremity of the land. Your guide will then conduct you through a low and narrow arch, formed by two rocks, into a

spacious bath, rather larger than the chapel used for early morning prayers in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The waves are incessantly scowling and battling round about, except on the entering side; so that it is with difficulty you can make yourself heard by your companions, by shouting to them. No sharks can annoy you in this pool; nor is there much danger of drowning, for the deepest part does not exceed six feet. There are convenient recesses for undressing, and it is usual to plunge in at once, to participate of one of the greatest luxuries that any person can enjoy in this warm climate. In looking upwards, the appearance of the roof is truly appalling; the stones are apparently so irregularly huddled together, and in such disorder, that the whole scene, at the first view, is frightful to a person of feeble nerves. But when you examine with due attention the construction of the impending arch, you soon find that what appeared at first to be all confusion, is regularity itself: for the stones seem to be culled, united, and locked together, as if prepared and adjusted by minute and deliberate admeasurement; justifying the beautiful observation of Pope,

"All nature is but art unknown to thee."

But perhaps few theatres on the great globe itself can exhibit a greater variety of scenery, or indulge the admirers of the sublime and wonderful with displays of magnificence equal to the island of Jamaica, where

"Majestic nature stands
With all her circling wonders round her."

Spanish Town is alternately under a civil and a military government. The civil powers, which consist of a custos, or chief magistrate, and a sufficient number of justices of the peace and constables, exercise their authority from the rising to the setting of the sun. But after the day shuts in, it becomes a regular garrison; the centinels challenge all passengers by calling aloud, "Who goes there?" and an obstinate refusal to answer, after three repetitions of the same question, endangers the life of the party; as the centinels have it in their choice to fire at the offender, or to call out a guard to take him into custody. Parties of soldiers likewise patrol the streets all night, to prevent robberies, and to apprehend all disorderly persons, who, the next day, are delivered over to the civil power, to be dealt with according to law.

The number of the inhabitants residing in the town does not exceed six thousand, including the people of colour: but as the precincts of the parish of St. Catharine extend some miles into the adjacent country, the population may be estimated to

form a total of 10,000 persons of all complexions, including males, females, and children.

The wealthier inhabitants keep their coaches or chariots; and the shopkeepers have their two-wheel chaises, or kittereens, so called from having been first imported from Kettering in Northamptonshire. Such as cannot afford a carriage, even the poorest freed negro, in general, will not be without a saddle-horse.

The tradesmen derive their chief support from the residence of the governor, the officers of state and of the army, the gentlemen of the long robe, the members of the assembly, and the council; and likewise from the conflux of people who visit the town from all parts of the island on their private affairs, especially during the sittings of the supreme court of law. These sittings comprise four months of the year, including the annual session of the assembly, which generally lasts from the beginning of October to Christmas. All is hurry, bustle, and amusement, in these seasons; and from enjoying the stillness and tranquillity of a country village, the scene is totally changed, and the people are immersed in sensual pleasures.

Passage Fort, an appendage of Spanish Town, was formerly called *The Passage*, from its being the place of embarkation for Port Royal: it is situated on the west side of the harbour, about three quarters of a mile from the river Cobre, and six miles from Spanish Town. It was once defended by a small fort, on which were mounted twelve pieces of ordnance; but many years have elapsed since it was kept up in a state of defence. At present it is reduced to a small village, containing about fifteen houses belonging to wharfingers, and the proprietors of whinies and hackney chaises, which constantly ply at this place, to carry passengers to and from the different towns of the county. But, from a want of depth of water sufficient for vessels of burden to come up nearer to the harbour of Spanish Town, it has lost a great part of its carrying trade. A new and more convenient navigation for shipping has been opened by a public-spirited gentleman on the north-east side of Salt-pond, under cover of the Twelve-apostles Battery; and it is deservedly named, after him, Port Henderson. It admits vessels of burden very near the wharf. Besides its use for shipping of sugars and other commodities with the utmost dispatch, Port Henderson affords a ready communication, on that side of the harbour, with the British squadron stationed in time of war off the old town of Port Royal. On this account it has proved very convenient for the security of the merchant ships sailing for Great Britain. It is celebrated in the records of Jamaica as the landing-place of Colonel Jackson, who invaded the island in the

time of the Spaniards, in the year 1638; and of Venables, who subdued it for our empire in 1655.

There are seven other parishes in the county of Middlesex, of which we shall give such a concise account as is compatible with the limits of our work. Adjoining to St. Catharine's on the east, and within its precinct, is the parish of St. Dorothy, containing only one town, named Old Harbour. This town consists of about thirty indifferent houses, mostly inhabited by wharfingers and factors. It had formerly a small fort, but it was not thought of sufficient consequence to repay the expenses of repairing it. Indeed, the entrance into the bay is fully protected by the shoals, which render the navigation so perilous, that no enemy's ship would venture to approach the town. The inner or eastern harbour, by winding nearly six miles inland, was so sheltered, that ships were defended from hurricanes; for which reason the Spaniards moored their galleons here during the stormy seasons; but the channel leading to it is now so choaked with mud, that it is become useless. Even the merchantmen which come to this port, to take in cargoes, lie further out in the bay, where there is depth of water for vessels of almost any burden, and excellent anchorage. At the distance of two miles from the town, there is a small hamlet called the Market, on account of a negro-market which is regularly held there every *Lord's Day* * in the forenoon. In this market are sold poultry, eggs, corn, and other articles of food.

The parish of *St. John* has no town, but is entirely covered with mountains, hills, and vallies. It is watered by four rivers; of which the Rio Montano, or Mountain River, is the principal one: but though the climate is healthy, and the air cool and temperate, it is but thinly inhabited, having only a few sugar plantations in isolated situations, owing to the bad roads. However, it is famed for the abundance of fine timber growing on the mountains, and for the perfection to which all European culinary vegetables are brought in the vallies, particularly in the vale of Luidas. In this, as in the former parish, there are barracks for soldiers at convenient stations. Those of St. John, which are built with stone, command a narrow pass of communication between the north and south sides of the island, and might be made a very strong military post, capable of containing a garrison of five hundred men.

* The universal practice in the towns of Jamaica, and in other islands of the West Indies, of holding negro-markets on the sabbath, is one of the grossest violations of that holy day; but the fault chiefly lies with the white inhabitants.

St. Thomas in the Vale, the next parish, merits more particular notice, as the major part of it lies in the delightful vale called Sixteen Mile Walk. This vale is resorted to by almost all the principal inhabitants of Spanish Town, and constitutes one of their most agreeable country excursions, either in carriages or on horse-back. It is bounded towards the south by the parish of St. Catharine; is eleven miles long, eight broad, and contains nearly sixty thousand square acres. The southern borders are sheltered by the main ridge of mountains which traverse the island from east to west; and it is inclosed on every other quarter by a circumvallation of high hills and mountains. It is full of springs and rivulets, which unite with the larger streams. These, meeting together near the opening between the mountains on the south side of the vale, increase the waters of the river Cobre. This river, continuing its course irregularly between rocky mountains and precipices, in some places presents to the view an expanse of smooth water, and in others forms beautiful cascades. At that part of the vale, where it commences its course towards Spanish Town, it enters between two yawning rocks, which seem as if they had been cleft asunder to give it a passage. But one great disadvantage diminishes the numerous beauties of the romantic scenery of this extensive vale. It is almost every day obscured by a thick fog, which begins to rise slowly on the approach of evening, grows denser as the night advances, is heaviest at break of day, and does not disperse till about nine in the morning, when the heat of the sun has rarefied the atmosphere. This fog has been remarked as a singular phenomenon from our first settlement in the island; and its physical causes have employed the pens of several of our learned men in the last century, but without producing any incontrovertible decision. But it is generally allowed by the inhabitants, that it has the singular quality of not being unhealthy, like other fogs. In fact, the air of the whole parish is accounted very salubrious; insomuch that a villa situated upon a mountain near the confines of St. Catharine's, was purchased some years since by the Assembly, as an occasional retreat, during the hot months, for the commander in chief. This was one of the first tracts of land settled with sugar plantations, the produce of which is at present esteemed to be of an excellent quality.

Clarendon parish is one of the largest, most healthy, and best cultivated districts in the whole island. It is watered by no less than fifteen rivers, besides innumerable rivulets and springs. The Minho is the capital river, which flows in a direct line towards the sea, upwards of twenty-six miles on the south side of the island; but, with its various meanders, makes a course of

more than fifty. The rivers Cave, Pedro, and Crofts, are remarkable for concealing themselves under ground after a course of several miles above. The vales between the mountains are in general spacious, and enriched with fine cane land. The conveniency of having water-mills, and the firmness of the roads, have encouraged the inhabitants in this place to carry their sugar plantations much farther inland, than in any other part of the island; for there are some at the distance of twenty-two miles from the shipping-place. In short, the settlers in this parish have every source of plenty in their hands, and therefore are in general opulent, and improving in wealth. Yet it has no town, and only two small hamlets, namely, the Cross and the Chapel: the former contains about ten houses, inhabited by Jews and mulattoes; the latter consists of only seven or eight scattered houses, and the parish barracks, in which a company of regular troops is quartered. Divine service, for the convenience of the parishioners, is alternately performed here, and at the Cross-church. The rector's stipend is £250; but being an extensive and populous parish, the living is reputed to be worth £600 per annum. Besides sugar, ginger, and cocoa, coffee is an article much cultivated in this parish. The annual crops of corn are so great, that it supplies food for large stocks of poultry and hogs; and the low lands abound with horses, sheep, and other cattle.

Vere is a precinct of the parish of Clarendon. It was once intended to build a considerable town near the mouth of the river Minho, to be called Carlisle, in honour of the Earl of Carlisle, one of the early governors of the island: but the plan not being carried into execution under succeeding governors, it is at present only a small hamlet, named Carlisle Town, with not more than twelve houses. It is memorable for having been the spot where the French made an ineffectual attempt to invade the island in 1694; when they were gallantly repulsed by an inferior force, consisting partly of regular troops, but chiefly of the militia of the island. The parish church is a handsome edifice, elegantly furnished within, has a good organ, and is pleasantly situated at about two miles and a half from the fort: it is surrounded with cotton-trees, which keep it cool. At a small distance, on the opposite banks of the river Minho, a free school was founded in 1741, under the management of trustees, appointed by an act of Assembly, and supported by private benefactions. In this school, the poor free children of the parishes of Clarendon and Vere, and of the adjacent settlements, are taught to read and write English, and are also instructed in Latin, Greek, and the Mathematics. The principal shipping-places are at Carlisle Bay, and near the mouth of Salt River,

which is navigable for canoes and barges transporting produce from the inland plantations. Vere is also remarkable for a singular ridge of hills, which form the promontory of Portland, an eminence ten miles in length, and two in breadth. This headland projects over the sea coast, and commands an extensive view, by which the approach of an enemy may be easily descried.

The high lands on both sides the Minho are cool and healthy, and the soil in general very fertile, and chiefly cultivated with sugar canes. But the almost level tract of land, which continues from the sea to the mountains of Clarendon, upwards of sixteen miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, is chiefly laid down in pasture: it is famous for mutton and poultry, with which the inhabitants carry on a large trade to the markets of the great towns. This parish also produces plentiful annual crops of Guinea corn, and likewise pulse of various kinds, for the subsistence of the negroes. The early English settlers in this place, made immense fortunes by the cultivation and sale of indigo: such was the opulence of the planters, that at one time more gentlemen's carriages were kept in this district, than in all the other parts of the island, except Spanish Town. But more modern proprietors have converted their lands into pasture, and attended chiefly to the raising of cotton and cattle; so that the indigo works continued to be neglected, till at length the cultivation was totally abandoned: upon the whole, the parish is said to be on the decline.

St. Mary is situated contiguous to St. George, Surry, on the east; on the west to St. Anne; on the south to St. Thomas in the Vale; and is bounded on the north by an arm of the sea that separates Cuba from Jamaica. It is watered by twenty-four rivers, the principal of which are the Sambre, the Nuevo, Bagnal's Waters, and Port Maria: it likewise has a number of springs and rivulets. The land is diversified by mountains, hills, dales, and vallies; and in general the soil is fertile.

The chief ports are, Anotto Bay, Port Maria, Auracabessa, Saltgut, and Rio Nuevo, all of them affording good anchorage. But there is no security for ships from the hurricanes, the ports being all exposed to the north. Two of these harbours are distinguished in the history of this island for remarkable events: — Port Maria, for the asylum afforded Columbus from a storm in which his vessel sprung a leak, and was near foundering; and Rio Nuevo, for the decisive victory obtained by General D'Oyley over the Spaniards, which gave the possession of the whole island to our troops. The weather of this parish is rainy during the greatest part of the year, and so cold that most of the houses have chimnies, independently of the kitchens—a

circumstance which is rarely to be found in any other houses on the island. Frequent insurrections of the negro slaves in this parish, have occasioned the building of no less than four barracks, at which small corps of regular troops are stationed. Each barrack will hold sixty men; and Fort Haldane, at the entrance of the harbour of Port Maria, is always kept in a state of defence, to guard against an attack from a foreign enemy.

There are three hamlets in this parish, at Rio Nuevo, Port Maria, and Saltgut, having from eight to twelve houses in each, inhabited mostly by store-keepers, wharfingers, and shopkeepers. The mulattoes and freed negroes have a separate town, called Scots-hall and Negro Town. The chief productions of Vere, are sugar, rum, a small quantity of indigo, coffee, tobacco, and corn. The great plenty of water and provisions occasions an abundant breed of hogs; but neither poultry nor sheep thrive well, owing to the unsuitableness of the grass, and the too great moisture of the atmosphere. But still the land is capable of considerable improvement; and it is probable that in time, though it was the last settled of any district of the island, it will become populous and permanently prosperous.

St. Anne's parish joins St. Mary on the east quarter; St. James, Cornwall, on the west; Clarendon and St. Thomas, to the south; and is bounded on the north by the sea. Twelve rivers supply it with plenty of water, and greatly contribute to its fertility. The Rio Bueno, St. Anne's great river, the Roaring, and the White rivers, are the principal. The harbours are, St. Anne's Bay, Dry Harbour, Rio Bueno, Ocho Rios, and Runaway Bay. The bay of St. Anne is defended by a reef of rocks, stretching almost across its entrance, and leaving only a small channel for ships to go in and come out. The bason, by means of this barrier, and of two points of land projecting from the shore in the form of the points of a crescent, is so effectually sheltered, that the vessels which are stationed in it are at all times riding at anchor in smooth water. Another advantage is the great depth of the harbour, which will admit the largest West Indiamen to load here with sugars, laying their broadsides close to the wharf. It is defended by a strong battery; and a company of regular infantry is stationed at the neighbouring barracks.

The town of St. Anne contains between forty and fifty houses, separated from each other, and extending along the beach. On the western side of the bay stands the parish church, a very handsome edifice: and upon an eminence, a most delightful spot, in the centre of the present town, stood the Old Spanish Town of Sevilla Nueva, or New Seville. The remains of this famous city, whose magnificent public buildings were erected

under the guidance of Peter Martir, or Martyr, abbot of the cathedral, are still visible, in the ruins of a castle and a cathedral, and other fragments that have been dug up at different times. These had been carefully preserved when Sir Hans Sloane visited the town of St. Anne's, in the year 1688, who gives a minute detail of those antiquities in his history of Jamaica.*

The inhabitants of St. Anne carried on some traffic for mules and other cattle with the Spaniards of the island of Cuba, who

* I observed (says Sir Hans Sloane) the ruins of the town called Sevilla, among which was a church, built by Peter Martyr of Angleria, of a sort of freestone, to be had near this city, and bricks. A pavement was found two miles from the church. The city was so large, it had a fortified castle, the walls of pebble and brick; it was and is a good port. There was formerly here one great sugar work, at a pretty distance, the mill whereof went by water, which was brought some miles thither. The axletree of this is to be seen entire at this day. The town is now Captain Hemmings' plantation. The church was not finished; it was twenty paces broad, and thirty paces long. There were two rows of pillars within: over the place where the altar was to be, were some carvings, under the ends of the arches. It was built of a sort of stone, between freestone and marble, taken out of a quarry about a mile up in the hills: the houses and foundations stand for several miles along, and the ground towards the country is rising. Captain Hemmings told me he sometimes found pavements under his canes three feet covered with earth, and several times wells, and sometimes burial-stones finely cut.

"There are the beginnings of a great house, called a Monastery, but I suppose the house was designed for the governor. There were two coats of arms lay by, not set up, a Dualone, and that of a Count, I suppose, belonging to Columbus, his family, the proprietors of the island. There had been raised a town, part brick and part hewn stone, as also several battlements on it, and other lower buildings not finished. At the church lie several arched stones to complete it, which had never been put up, but lay among the canes. The rows of pillars within were for the most part plain. *In the time of the Spaniards, it was thought the Europeans had been cut off by the Indians, and so the church left unfinished.*

"When the English took the island, the ruins of this city were so overgrown with wood, that they were all turned black; nay, I saw a Mammee Tree, or bastard Mammee Tree, grow within the walls or tower, so high that it must have been a large gun could kill a bird on the top of it; and the most part of the timber felled off this place when it was planted, was sixty feet or more long. A great many wells are on this ground. The west gate of the church was a very fine work, and stands very entire: it was seven feet wide, and was as high before the arch began. Over the door in the middle was our Saviour's head, with a crown of thorns, between two angels; on the right side, a small round figure of some saint, with a knife stuck into his head; on the left, a Virgin Mary, or Madona, her arm tied in three places, Spanish fashion." Sir Hans Sloane's Introduction, vol. I. page 66, 67.

We may easily learn from this quotation, that the town of Sevilla, though now nothing but ruins, was once a place of considerable extent and population. And we may also infer, from the unfinished state in which the public edifices appeared when inspected by Sir Hans Sloane, that the town was deserted on some sudden emergency. Its appearance, therefore, combines with other corroborating circumstances, to assure us that the Spaniards *were cut off by the Indians.*

came over in the course of a single night, in small decked vessels, and sometimes even in open boats. This intercourse, however, proved very detrimental to the settlers in this parish; for the Spaniards seduced many of the negroes by alluring promises; and likewise privately kidnapped them with impunity. Considering, therefore, that the passage is so short, and that a negro flying to Cuba becomes, on his arrival there, the property of the Spanish crown, is baptized into the Roman Catholic faith, and cannot be recovered by his heretic master, it is wonderful that the desertion was not greater. And this is still more surprising, as the court of Spain avowedly protected these refugees; and, so recently as the year 1768, refused to deliver up a number of slaves belonging to British masters, though application was made for their restitution by our ambassador at the court of Madrid.

From White River to Rio Bueno, the eastern and western boundaries of the parish, a level ground extends for the space of twenty-four miles along the coast. Its greatest breadth, to the foot of the hills, does not exceed one mile, the hills gradually ascending to high mountains. The soil of this tract of land is, for the most part, a shallow stratum of mould, upon a white hot marl, which produces, with good management, moderate crops of canes. It is therefore well covered with sugar plantations, and the hills with Pimento-trees; immense woods of this plant overspreading them to a great distance from the coast.

Two very extraordinary natural curiosities, highly gratifying to the view of the numerous spectators who resort to them, are exhibited in this parish. The first is a surprising cascade, formed by a branch of the Rio Alto, or High River, which is supposed to re-emerge, (after a subterraneous current of several miles,) between Roaring River plantation and Menzie's Bog. The hills in this quarter are many of them composed of a stalactite matter; by whose easy solution, the waters oozing through the rocks are copiously charged with it, so that they incrustate all bodies deposited in them. The source of this river is at a very considerable elevation above the level of the sea, and at a great distance from the coast. From thence it runs between the hills successively, broad or contracted, as they on each side approach nearer, or recede further from one another. In one of the more extended spaces, it expands its water in a gentle descent among a very curious group of Anchovy Pear trees, whose spreading roots intercept the shallow stream in a multitude of different directions. The water thus retarded deposits its grosser contents, which, in the course of time, have formed various incrustations around as many cisterns, spread

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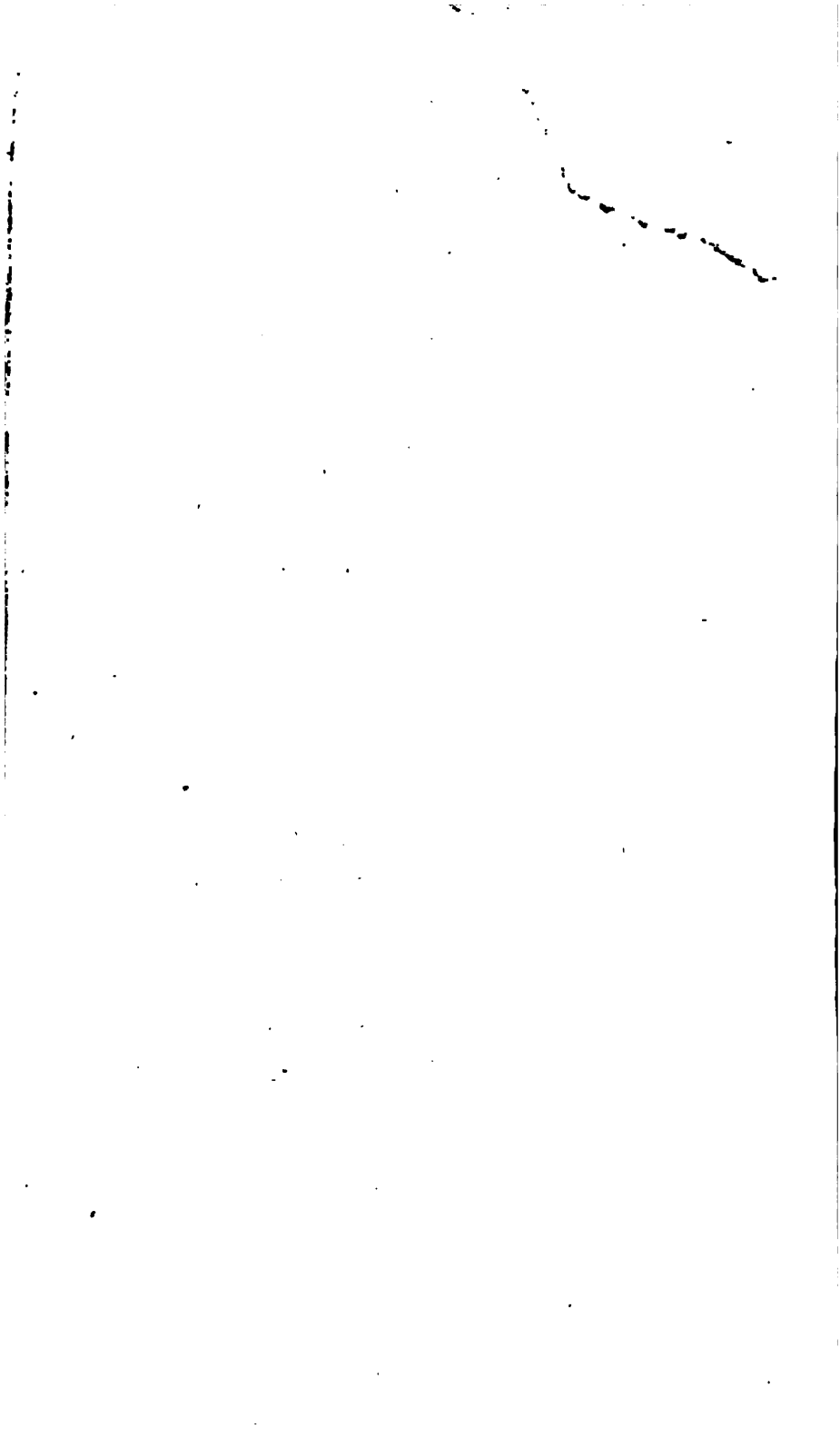

in beautiful ranks, gradually rising one above another. A sheet of water, transparent as crystal, conforming itself to the flight of steps, overspreads their surface; and, as the rays of light or sunshine play between the waving branches of the trees, it descends glittering with a thousand variegated tints.

The incrustation in many parts is sufficiently solid to bear the weight of a man: in others it is so thin, that some persons, whose curiosity induced them to venture too far, found themselves suddenly plunged up to the waist in a cold bath. The sides of the cisterns, or reservoirs, are formed by broken boughs and limbs incrusted over; and they are supported by the trunks of trees, promiscuously growing between them. The cisterns themselves are always full of water, which trickles down from one upon another; and although several of them are six or seven feet deep, the spectator may clearly discern whatever lies at the bottom. The laminæ which envelop them are in general half an inch thick. To a superficial observer, their sides have the appearance of stone; but upon breaking any of them, there is found either a bough between the two incrusting coats, or a vacant space which a bough had once filled, but which, having mouldered away after a great length of time, had left the cavity. After dancing over these innumerable cisterns, the pellucid element divides itself into two currents; and then falling in with other neighbouring rivulets, composes several smaller but very beautiful falls. In fine, though verbal description is inadequate, it is hoped that the Plate annexed will convey some tolerable idea of this admirable workmanship of the Divine Architect.

The other cascade, though so named by the inhabitants, may be more properly denominated a cataract, similar to that of the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland. It proceeds from the White River, which is of considerable magnitude; and, after a course of about twelve miles among the mountains, precipitates its waters in a fall of about three hundred feet, obliquely measured, with such a hoarse and thundering noise, that it is distinctly heard at a very great distance. Through the whole descent, it is broken and interrupted by a regular succession of steps, formed by a stalactite matter, incrusted over a kind of soft chalky stone, which yields easily to the chisel. Such a vast discharge of water, thus wildly agitated by the steepness of the fall, dashing and foaming from step to step, with all the impetuosity and rage peculiar to this element, exhibits an agreeable, and at the same time an awful scene. The grandeur of this spectacle is also astonishingly increased by the fresh supplies which the torrent receives after the rainy seasons. At those periods, the roaring of the flood, reverberated from the adjacent rocks,

trees, and hills; the tumultuous violence of the cataract rolling down with unremitting fury; and the gloom of the overhanging wood, contrasted with the soft serenity of the sky, the brilliancy of the spray, the flight of birds soaring over the lofty summits of the mountains, and the placid surface of the bason, at a little distance from the foot of the fall, form an accumulation of objects, most happily blended together, and beyond the power of words to express. To complete this animating picture drawn by the hand of Nature, or rather of nature's God, a considerable number of tall and stately trees, beautifully intermixed, rise gracefully from the margin on each side. The bark and foliage of these trees are diversified by a variety of lovely tints. And from the bason itself, two elegant trees, of the palm species, appear like two straight columns erected in the water, and towering towards the sky; planted at such equal distances from the banks on each side, that the hand of art could not have effected, by rule, more exactness and propriety in the positions.

Another celebrated curiosity in this parish is, the wonderful grotto near Dry Harbour, about fourteen miles west from St. Anne's Bay. It is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs a considerable way: it then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate so far, that no person has yet ventured to discover their termination. The entrance has a truly Gothic appearance. It exhibits the perpendicular front of a rock, having two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which seem as if they had been formerly door-ways. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural niche, about four feet in height, and as many from the ground. In this niche, it is conjectured, that a Madona was placed at some early period of time; especially as there is a small excavation in the form of a bason at the foot of the niche, projecting a little beyond the surface of the rock, and seeming to be a proper reservoir for the *holy-water* of the Roman Catholics. But this idea implies the workmanship of art, and that the grotto was anciently inhabited; neither of which circumstances is to be traced in Long's detailed description of the interior recesses, which does not materially differ from the descriptions of other grottos and subterraneous cavities in various parts of the globe.

This parish is in a course of progressive improvement, which is capable of being carried to a great extent, by the cultivation of its waste lands. Comparatively speaking, Jamaica, like many other portions of the New World, is yet in a state of infancy; and though it has made rapid advances towards maturity, much yet remains undone. To combine the powers of the soil with those of the climate, and to make them both subserve the im-

portant purposes of life, require a portion of time which rarely accompanies the life of man.

The internal resources of the island are certainly considerable, and the advantages of its situation are become an artificial source of wealth. Happy would it be if, in the midst of surrounding affluence and plenty, it could be added, that the gratitude of its white inhabitants kept an equal pace with the daily blessings which they derive from God! Happier still would it be, if the infinite love of Jesus Christ were felt in all its animating influences! Happy would it be for them, if they knew, in the day of their visitation, the things which belong to their endless peace!

CHAP. IX.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

County of Surry—description of Kingston; its public edifices, conveniences, and advantages—Port Royal; its calamities, present condition, and means of defence—parochial divisions, advantages; variety of productions; natural curiosities, and medicinal waters.

THE COUNTY OF SURRY.

Description of Kingston, the county town; and of its other towns and parishes, &c.

THIS county comprises seven parishes, and ten towns and villages, or hamlets, of which Kingston is not only the county town, but likewise a distinct and the first parish. Its geographical situation is in 17° 59½ north latitude; and 76° 3¾ west longitude from Greenwich. It has been already noticed, that this town owed its foundation to the almost total destruction of Port Royal by dreadful earthquakes and fires. This calamity obliged the inhabitants to flee to this district in 1692, and to erect new habitations for themselves, their families and dependants, in the course of the following year, on the spot where the improved and greatly enlarged city now stands. The original plan was drawn by Colonel Lilly, a very able military and civil engineer. The town is one mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. It is laid out in thirty-five streets, traversing each other at right angles. It has, besides, a great number of lanes, alleys, and passages; on which are finished, according to a late account, nearly two thousand handsome houses, occupied by the white inhabitants; exclusively of those of the people of colour, and the negro huts; making in all about four thousand large and small buildings. The present number of the whites is estimated at seven thousand; and the total of both sexes, and of all complexions and conditions, amounts to nearly twenty-seven thousand. In general, the houses, especially in the upper part of the town, are much superior to those of Spanish Town. Some of them are really sumptuous, being two or three stories high, with a convenient arrangement of cham-

bers, rooms for the reception of company, and offices for business. The fronts of most of them are defended from rain, and shaded from the heat of the sun, by piazzas on the ground floor, and by covered galleries to the upper stories: they are also elegantly furnished, and kept very clean.

The town being situated on the north side of the harbour, renders it very convenient for the shipping; especially as the channel, which is formed by an inlet from the sea, is deep enough, for a considerable way both above and below the town, to admit ships of the greatest burden. The eastern branch of the harbour, which faces the town, is so capacious, that a thousand sail may anchor in it. Even at the wharfs, the water is so deep, that vessels of two hundred tons lie alongside them to deliver their cargoes.

A gradual descent of about four miles and a half, from that side of the harbour where the town begins, to the foot of the Liguanea Mountains, gives the streets such a convenient slope as to prevent any stagnation of water in the town. But, on the other hand, it admits too easy a passage to vast torrents, which sometimes rush with such impetuosity down the principal streets, as to render them almost impassable by wheel carriages. Sometimes these floods cause a shoal-water at the wharfs by depositing great quantities of rubbish and mud, by which means the channel is considerably contracted. It has been observed, that Kingston is secured from the danger of those dreadful conflagrations which destroyed Port Royal, Bridge-Town in Barbadoes, and St. John's in Antigua, by having wells and pumps in every principal street, conveniently placed, and kept in good order, and fire-engines and buckets in the court-house.

The great square, usually called the parade, from the troops performing their manual exercise in front of the barracks, which occupy the north-west side, is the most admired quarter of the town, on account of the public buildings. The barracks comprise convenient lodgings for two hundred privates and subalterns, inclosed within a square which is walled round behind the officers' apartments in the front of the edifice looking on the parade. The officers' apartments are very handsome. The church is situated on the south-side of the square, and by its tower and spire is a considerable ornament to the town, both when viewed at a distance and on the spot. The inside is distributed into four aisles, and its chief decoration is a very fine organ. Upon the whole, it is an elegant and spacious edifice. On the east side is the handsome chapel belonging to the society late in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley; for the proper description of which, and an elegantly engraved view, see

the chapter on the progress of the Protestant Religion from the first settlement of our countrymen in the island of Jamaica.

The streets are all wide and regular. The market-places are adapted to the conveniences of the inhabitants: they are situated at the bottom of the town, where they neither offer obstructions to trade, nor annoyance to passengers. They are near the water's side; yet are sufficiently distant from the wharfs to leave the transactions of that department free.

At all seasons of the year, the markets of Kingston are well supplied with animal food, with fish, with vegetables, and with a vast variety of fruits peculiar to the tropical regions. The supply being both great and regular, the prices are less exorbitant than at Spanish Town, though the consumption is so great as to allow of no competition. The interpositions of the magistrates tend to preserve regularity, and to administer justice, while the certainty of sale ensures a constant supply.

As Kingston is the emporium of the foreign commerce of the whole island, its population rarely fluctuates. It gradually increases in number, without being exposed to those variations which are felt at Spanish Town from occasional visitors, who either throng the streets, or leave the town half desolated, at certain seasons of the year.

As it does not enter into the plan of this work to discuss commercial subjects, we shall only observe, that there are no sugar plantations in the parish, and scarcely any other cultivation than that of grass-pens.

Of the town of Port Royal, sufficient mention has already been made, in the narrative of the successive devastations which terminated in its ruin in 1692; for though it was rebuilt and re-peopled in a certain degree, yet all hopes of its re-establishment as a trading town were given up after the dreadful fire in 1703, which conflagration destroyed the new buildings that had been erected, and had been increasing from the former to the latter period. The few houses which escaped that fire were demolished by the great hurricane that happened on the 28th of August, 1722, which was severely felt throughout the whole island, and did considerable damage to the houses and plantations in every district. Few of the inhabitants of Port Royal lost their lives; but in its harbour, the catastrophe was dreadful. "Of thirty-six merchant ships and sloops, only ten were to be seen after the storm;" "and it was computed," says Long, "that four hundred persons perished in the harbour, amongst whom were two hundred negro slaves on board a ship from the coast of Guinea, which foundered at her anchor." The whole parish has ever since been in a declining state; the inland part being too rugged or too steep to admit of any considerable set-

tlement, and the tract adjacent to the coast being rather sterile, and destitute of a good shipping-place. The fortifications, however, which defend the harbour, are constantly kept in the best order; and as a place of defence, Port Royal is at present highly valuable, affording security to the whole island. Ships of war, in advancing towards the harbour, must necessarily pass between shoals and rocks through a difficult channel; and they are inevitably exposed to a severe fire, without a possibility of bringing their guns to bear. Ahead they have to encounter a battery of twelve guns, called the Twelve Apostles, mostly forty-two pounders, built on a point of Saltpan Hill, which would rake them the whole way, till they tacked to stand up the harbour. They would then be exposed to the fire of this battery on one side, to that of the fort on the other, and in front to the battery of Fort Augusta. This last fort is erected on Mosquito Point, a sandy peninsula, about two miles in length, and very narrow, projecting from the north-east side of the Saltpan Hill, and forming a kind of lunette on the west side of the harbour. At the point, the ship channel between the harbours of Port Royal and Kingston, is not a quarter of a mile in breadth, and would probably become shoal water, if it were not for the river Cobre running through it into the sea. This fort mounts eighty-six large guns, and contains an extensive magazine, a house for the commander, and barracks for three hundred men, with all convenient offices, especially bomb-proof casemates. A proper garrison is resident in this fort, which is reputed to be a very healthy station. Its distance from Port Royal is about two miles, and from Kingston three and a half. We need, therefore, no farther proof of its importance as a safe-guard to the whole island.

The parish of *St. Andrew* is contiguous, on the south side, to the harbour and parish of Kingston. It has no town, but a very pleasant hamlet, called Half-way Tree, situated at little more than two miles distance from Kingston, at the traverse of three great roads, leading to Spanish Town, to St. Mary, and St. George. It enjoys a salubrious air, and delightful prospect; and the whole parish is abundantly supplied with water by the streams of fourteen rivers. The principal of these rivers are, the Wagwater, which falls into the sea on the north side, after a course of about thirty miles; the Hope, which crosses the east side; the Pedro, which enters St. Thomas in the Vale, on the west; and the Salt River, which discharges itself into the harbour at the north-west point of Hunt's Bay. These rivers are navigated by flat-bottomed barges and canoes, which are generally used for conveying grass, wood, lime, and stones, to the town of Kingston.

Behind the hamlet of Half-way Tree, which contains about twelve or fourteen houses, the majestic blue mountains are seen rising one above the other in gradation, till they seem to touch the clouds. On each side are lively fields of canes, intermixed with elegant villas of the planters, and pasture lands; and, in front, the harbours of Kingston and Port Royal, crowded with ships, some riding at anchor, and others under sail in different directions. Proceeding from the village, about two miles to the northward, along a road of easy ascent, the curious traveller arrives at the foot of the Liguanea Mountains: these are the first steps leading up to that vast pile of mountains, which form a kind of chain connecting the eastern and western coasts of the island. The foremost towards the village are of a moderate height, serving as natural buttresses to sustain the interior and more massive: farther on, they are found to increase in magnitude and elevation, till the highest of all, called the Blue Mountain Ridges, is attained. In short, whoever penetrates into these enchanting regions, finds every fresh ascent, however short, affording not only a fresh air, but new scenes of nature, with respect to prospect, plants, and animals. The birds, the animals, and the insects, are many of them totally different from those that are to be met with in the lower grounds: and the whole face of things bears so little similitude to what is observable in other parts of the island, that it has the appearance of a foreign country. The inhabitants of these mountains enjoy good health, and are free from those fatal diseases which too often ravage the towns, particularly Kingston. Upon the whole, this parish is in a flourishing condition, and annually increasing in the number of its sugar plantations.

The admired parish of *St. Thomas* in the East, which has another parish of little note, called St. David's, in its precincts, is bounded on the south and the east by the sea; on the north by Portland parish; and on the west by St. David's. More than twenty rivers contribute to the fertility of the soil, and the convenience of the inhabitants of this district. The entrance of this parish from St. David's, is elevated considerably above the sea coast; and the road lies between two mountains, composed of rocks and strata of a light-coloured friable marl, intermixed with large pebbles. These cliffs are seen at a great distance at sea, and are called by mariners, *the White Horses*.

The bay of Morant is a considerable shipping-place, and the harbour is one of the largest and most beautiful in the whole island. It is defended by a small battery, maintained in constant repair, and well garrisoned. The road where the ships lie at anchor is sheltered by a reef of rocks; and the shore is covered with warehouses and stores at the foot of the rising

ground, on which the village of Morant is situated. It consists of between thirty and forty houses, including the church, a handsome edifice: and, considering every advantage the inhabitants enjoy for commerce and settlement, Morant in a course of time may become a considerable town.

But the most remarkable place of resort in this parish, is the town of Bath; so called from its hot springs, resembling those of the celebrated city of Bath in England. The town of Bath is situated northward of Morant Harbour, at the distance of about five miles. There is a good road to it from Kingston, made partly by private subscription, and partly by public grants: it passes near the sea coast throughout its whole length, measuring forty-five miles, according to the mile-stones placed on it; and it is enriched by a variety of agreeable prospects. The waters have been long known, and justly celebrated for their medicinal virtues. The cures performed by them induced the legislature of the island to form the town by law into a corporation; and, from motives of humanity, to extend so excellent a remedy to those poor inhabitants who might want the means of procuring subsistence and advice whilst under its operation. For this purpose, a hospital was founded in the square, divided into convenient wards and apartments; and a physician was engaged at a liberal salary, to be resident in the town, and to give his advice to the poor *gratis*. The hot-spring issues by several different rills from fissures in the side of a rocky cliff, the foot of which is washed by the Sulphur River; and it is in such a state of ebullition, when received in a glass directly from the rock, and applied to the lips, that it can only be sipped like tea. Though the spring is at the distance of near two miles from the town, patients who desire to drink the water in the greatest perfection, repair to it, and take their station upon large flat stones, within two or three feet of the rock, and receive it immediately from the hand of the drawer. They generally begin with one half-pint glass, and increase the number to three or more; and it has been found to produce the best effects, taken on an empty stomach early in the morning. The cold sulphurous spring, which rises near Blue Mountain valley, a few miles westward of Bath, is more gross, and highly impregnated with sulphur; on which account it is deemed more effectual than the hot, in all cutaneous disorders, particularly the scurvy. It is also excellent for complaints of the bowels, and all other disorders that require strong lixivial dissolvents. For these reasons it is recommended, in some habits, to succeed a moderate course of the hot-spring. In general, both the springs and the bath afford relief in the same cases as the waters and bathing at the city of Bath in England; and the mode

of using them internally and externally, as well as the regimen to be observed while taking them, is nearly the same.

The parish, taken collectively, has increased very considerably of late years in the number of negroes on its estates, and also in the quantity of cattle; and now contains upwards of one hundred settlements; so that it has every prospect of becoming one of the most populous and opulent in the whole island.

Portland parish was formerly only a part of the parish of St. Thomas, and was not constituted by law a distinct and separate parish till the year 1723, when White River was fixed to be its south-east boundary. It comprises a large tract of very fine land; but the settlements are scattered along the sea coast. Only a small portion of the interior part is cultivated, it being mountainous, and subject to almost continual rains. It has also a prodigious extent of thick woods: but if they were cleared, a free passage would be afforded to the wind and vapours, and the rains would be decreased. The Rio Grande, or Great River, is the chief of seven or eight which water this district; but they are, in general, of very little note. The Rio Grande has its source about sixteen miles from the sea, and becomes considerable by the accession of several streams of the smaller rivers falling into it.

There are three respectable shipping-places within this district. The principal of these is Port Antonio, formerly called St. Francis, which lies on the north-east part of the coast. It has two commodious harbours, the eastern and western, divided from each other by a narrow peninsula, about three miles and a half in length, on the point of which stands Fort George. The ship channel leading into the western harbour, passes between this point and Lynch's, or Navy Island, and is about one mile over. The entrance into the eastern, lies between the south-east point of Navy Island and the main land, and is about three miles broad from shore to shore—both harbours are land-locked, and capable of receiving a very large fleet. It was once proposed by government, to erect store-houses and wharfs for naval stores, and for careening men of war, together with strong fortifications, at Port Antonio, which opens directly into the windward passages: but the design was laid aside, on finding the air of Navy Island to be unhealthy. A town was likewise intended to be built, to be called Titchfield, after a manor in Hampshire belonging to the Duke of Portland, then governor of Jamaica; but the plan proved abortive, though the situation still bears the name.

From the report of skilful surveyors, no part of the island better deserves the attention of the government than this extensive parish. Yet little more has been done for its improve-

ment than the making of the new road, which passes through an almost uninhabited wild, from Bath to Port Antonio, traversing a tract of near sixty thousand acres without a single settlement upon it. The Maroons had a small town called Moor Town, and a hamlet named Manchinul, near the harbour of Manchinul; this harbour, being a convenient place for shipping the produce of the county, the vicinity is better settled than any other division of the parish. The harbour is spacious and secure, and is defended by a battery of ten guns. Between this port and Antonio, there is another shipping-place on Priestman's River. These several advantages for trade, in point of situation, clearly demonstrate the want of a good town, as the means of increasing the number of settlements in this parish, which do not amount in all to one hundred; bearing no proportion to its great extent, and to the richness of the soil, which is admirably adapted to the growth of indigo of the best quality.

The last parish that we have to notice in the county of Surry, is the parish of *St. George*, on the precinct of St. Mary, Middlesex, which is its western boundary. It joins Portland eastward; skirts the parish of St. Andrew and St. David, south, and has the sea for its northern boundary. Anotto Bay, which is partly in this parish and partly in St. Mary's, is the common shipping-place for both: its road is secure, except in the season when the north winds blow; to the violence of which it is greatly exposed. The inconvenience of too much rain, and the great distance from the principal market of the island, keep back the cultivation, and consequent population, of this parish: to which must be added, the want of roads through its extensive wood-lands. Till these are formed, no considerable improvements can take place. The small quantity of land hitherto settled in sugar plantations, turns to better account, with less labour, than the plantations of some other parishes, where canes have been long cultivated. The most remarkable curiosity in this parish, is a salt lake, called Alligator Pond: it is five miles long, and half a mile broad, extending from Fig-tree to Buff River Bay, and separated from the sea by a narrow slip of sandy land. It is a singular phenomenon; but no account is given by tradition, or record, in what manner it was formed. Some suppose it was thrown thither by an earthquake: others conjecture, with more reason, that it has been left on the plain by an inundation of the sea.

CHAP. X.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

County of Cornwall—description of Savannah la Mar, the county town of Montego, and Trelawney—parishes, extent, productions, boundaries, and rivers—general statement of population—settlements and produce of the whole island, from the last authentic documents.

THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL.

This county is divided into five parishes, which contain nine towns, and three or four villages.

THE parish of St. Elizabeth skirts the parishes of Clarendon and Vere, in Middlesex, on the east; it joins Westmoreland westward; St. James's and Trelawney parishes in this county, on the north; and the sea is its southern boundary. The Black River, and another called the Y. S., the Hector, the Broad River, and several small ones, contribute to the fertility of this district, and to the commercial convenience of its inhabitants. The Black River, according to Long, is the noblest in the whole island: its source is in the north division of the parish, at the distance of sixteen miles from the nearest part of the sea coast: it meanders about thirty-four miles before it reaches the sea, and is navigable by boats and large barges for many miles. The Y. S. is the next considerable stream: it is so called from an ancient Gallic word formed by these two letters, and signifying crooked or winding: in one of its windings, in the bosom of a thick wood, it encounters a kind of rocky breakers, formed by a craggy mountain, from the fissures of which it descends rapidly in a beautiful cascade, deemed one of the remarkable natural curiosities of the island. The town of Lacovia is situated about seven miles inland from Pedro Bay: it lies very low in a kind of bottom, and is liable to be inundated by the waters of a large morass which surrounds it. It contains, however, two tolerable taverns, or inns, for the reception of travellers; and, besides a court-house for the purpose of holding the quarterly session of the peace, and transacting the parish business, it has about fourteen houses, mostly

inhabited by Jews. Accompong and Charles Town were inhabited by the Maroons before they were sent into exile. There is likewise a small hamlet belonging to this parish, called Black River Village, remarkable only for the handsome parish church which stands near it. The soil of this parish varies considerably: in some parts there are rich veins of mould adapted to the cultivation of sugar cane; this land lies contiguous to the banks on the Y. S. and Black Rivers: but a prodigious tract, consisting of not less than twenty thousand acres, lies scattered in waste morass, which might be drained and made productive. The south-west part of the parish is mountainous and stony, while the vales are continued sands, particularly the plain of Luana. On the whole, it is reckoned an unhealthy district; and the troops that were stationed in barracks in swampy places near the bay, were attacked with putrid fevers and dysenteries, which proved fatal to many of them. Nearly eighty thousand acres of land in this parish remain uncultivated; the greater part of it mountainous, but capable of producing coffee and other valuable commodities.

Westmoreland parish was formerly a part of St. Elizabeth, and was made a separate district in 1703: it therefore joins it on the eastern side, and extends to a part of St. James's: the west and south divisions are bounded by the sea coast, and on the north it is united to the parish of Hanover. Its chief rivers are Bluefields in the eastern division, the Bonito and the New Savannah westward, and the Great River on the north-east side. But it is principally remarkable for its head-lands, and good harbours. Bluefield Bay is the most distinguished. It is situated to the westward, is very spacious, and has such excellent anchorage, that it is the constant rendezvous, in time of war, for our homeward-bound fleets and their convoys intending to steer by the Gulph of Florida.

The town of Savannah la Mar, the capital of Cornwall, is situated west of Bluefield Bay, and is sheltered on the one side by the head-land called Bluff Point, and on the other by Cabarito. The roads to this town are for the most part deep and dirty. The rains in this parish are heavier than in the others on the south side of the island, and the country is flat towards the sea; so that during the rainy seasons the roads are almost impassable.

Though the ships that are to take on board the produce of the neighbouring plantations, consisting of sugars, rum, mahogany planks, and other commodities for exportation, lie before the town, it has but an indifferent harbour, or rather road. The water is shoaly, and poorly defended from a stormy sea; nor is the town much better guarded against the attacks of an

enemy. The fort, which cost the parishioners upwards of sixteen thousand pounds, is ill contrived, and frequently undermined by the waves. Formerly eighteen or twenty guns were mounted on it, and kept in good order; but most of them in the course of time, from neglect, have been dismounted: and the salutes to men of war, and on other occasions, are obliged to be given from a battery of fourteen small pieces of ordnance placed before the court-house. This edifice was erected in 1752, for the purpose of holding courts of common-pleas, the quarter sessions of the justices of the peace, elections, and parish business; but in 1758 it was enacted by the legislature of the island, that the assize court for the county should be holden in this town, which considerably enlarged and extended its jurisdiction. This town carries on a considerable trade, being commodiously situated for a correspondence with Truxillo, Honduras, and the Musquito shore; the passage to which is short and speedy, for the trade-wind serves both going and returning. At present, however, it is not large, for it consists of only one decent street, and about seventy scattered houses. Underneath the court-house are the barracks, capable of holding seventy men: a company of regulars constantly do garrison duty. But the situation is not healthy, on account of a tract of undrained morass land seven miles in length, which lies to the westward, and cannot well be drained, being covered with mangroves, and lying below the level of the sea. Even the ground on which the town is built is flat and low, so as to be subject to those excessive heats and putrid vapours, which, in the months of July and August, produce diseases that prove fatal to constitutions not habituated to the climate by long residence. The hamlet of Queen's Town, called also Beckford's, and the Savannah, is about two miles distant from the capital: this was intended by the late Richard Beckford, Esq. to have been a handsome town, deriving its name from the founder. That gentleman made a free grant of the land in lots of from five to twenty acres, and formed a plan of regular streets, with a large square in the center, on which the church was to be erected; but the plan not being carried into execution, a hamlet was substituted, which consists of a few well-built houses; but in other respects it is not a place of any note.

The planters who quitted Surinam in 1675, and the remnant of the Scots colony at Darien, who came to the island of Jamaica in 1699, settled in the eastern district of this parish, near Scots Cave. From the Dutch emigrants, this division obtained the name of Surinam Quarters; and the names of several of

the settlements of the Scotch, point out the nation from which they were taken; as Culloden, Auchindown, &c.

On leaving Savannah la Mar, the road to Hanover crosses the Cabarito River twice, by two bridges constructed with planks laid across some beams, but not provided with any side-rails for the security of passengers. The road then proceeds by a steep ascent, or rather a pass, of about a mile in length, and so narrow that two horses can scarcely go abreast. From the summit, the eye takes in, at one glance, a rural scene enriched with every embellishment of nature and art. The landscape is inexpressibly fine: cane fields, villas, pastures, clumps, groves, and rivulets, are promiscuously spread over the whole of its protuberant and diversified surface. This part of the parish exceeds most others for the peculiar nature of the soil, which is a kind of Fuller's-earth, soapy and rich, and so congenial to the sugar cane, that a long and uninterrupted culture seems not to have exhausted, or even impaired, its fertility.

Hanover parish was not made a separate district till the year 1723, when part of Westmoreland was formed into a new parish by its present title. Its boundary on the east is the Great River, which divides it from St. James's. The northern and western parts extend to the sea coast; but it is from the south of Westmoreland that it has acquired its domain. There are several rivers in Hanover parish, but none of them considerable, their sources not being above a few miles from the sea. Its principal shipping-places are Orange Bay, Green Island Harbour, and Sancta Lucia Harbour. Green Island Harbour, and Orange Bay, are the most north-western parts of Jamaica: the former takes its name from a little island at the offing, about half a league distant from the main land. On the west side of the harbour is a small battery of nine six-pounders, a sufficient guard to the entrance, as they are always kept in order for defence: there are likewise two more guns at a distance from the battery, near a small tavern, where the main battery was first intended to be erected. North-west of the harbour, there is another small bay, very commodious for shipping. And on the western side, a strong battery has been built, and is kept up at the expense of a private gentleman, to protect his rich plantations in the vicinity: it has eighteen guns mounted, and embrasures for twenty-one.

Orange Cove is situated at a small distance from the above-mentioned bay, near Point Pedro. This is the most delightful part of Hanover: it is beautiful beyond description. Wherever the wandering eye directs its view, it meets with a succession of objects equally new, striking, and lively, through-

out an extent of many miles. In one division is seen a wide plain, richly covered with canes of an emerald tint, of different shades, and striped with fringes of logwood, or penguine fence; or, instead of this border, with rills of crystal water. In another rises a velvet lawn, whose gently-sloping bosom is embellished with herds and flocks, and its borders enriched by negro villages, shaded by clumps of graceful trees. On the neighbouring hill are seen windmills at work, with boiling-houses and other plantation buildings at the foot; together with labourers, cattle, and carriages, all briskly occupied in performing the various duties attendant on cultivation. In addition to these animated scenes, a boundless prospect of the sea opens to the north; and a battlement of hills, crowned with woods, bounds the northern view.

Not less delightful is the prospect of Lucia, the only town inhabited by white people in this parish, and its charming environs. The harbour at the entrance is half a mile across; and, continuing its channel about a mile inland, it expands itself into a circular bason of nearly the same space in every direction. The anchorage in all parts is very good; and the depth of water is from four to six fathoms. The town itself is but small, consisting only of one large street, and about sixty isolated houses. The south-west side stands upon a swampy foundation: the land behind it, as well as on each side, being mountainous, no part of the town is seen from the road, until you enter it; and the only full view of it is from the harbour. Upon the whole, it is not a healthy spot; but it is conveniently situated for carrying on a profitable traffic with the Spanish island of Cuba. The entrance of the harbour is defended by a fort erected on the western point of a small peninsula: it has from twenty to twenty-five pieces of ordnance mounted, and constantly ready for service: there are also barracks for fifty men at a small distance; but the garrison, in time of peace, does not consist of so many. The church, a handsome brick building, which cost the parishioners upwards of seven thousand pounds, is delightfully situated at the distance of half a mile from the town, and is near the fort. On the opposite side of the harbour is a plantation, called the Point, remarkable for its fine situation, commanding the harbour, the shipping, the fort, and the town, and a distant view continued for many miles over well cultivated cane-fields, and a country most agreeably diversified. The progress of improvements in this parish, which contains more sugar works than some other parishes of three times its extent, affords a prospect of its becoming one of the wealthiest settlements in the island.

St. James's is the next. The boundaries of this parish are,

Trelawney parish, east; Hanover, west; the sea, north; and St. Elizabeth, south. The principal rivers are, Great River, Marthabræ, and the Montego. The source of Great River is at the southern extremity of the parish. It takes its course in a winding direction for thirty miles to the sea, falling into it at the west angle of Montego Bay, about five miles from the town; and it divides this parish from Hanover. But though in many parts it is of considerable width, it has not sufficient depth to be navigable, except for small boats and canoes, and that only for a few miles.

The coast of this parish has no headland, and but one harbour, which belongs to the town of Montego. This town is in a very flourishing state, containing between four and five hundred houses, most of which are substantial brick buildings, and inhabited by opulent merchants. The streets are regularly laid out: the exports from this port are very considerable, and its trade in general is daily increasing. The numerous plantations extend fourteen or fifteen miles inland from the sea; but there is still room for vast improvements, the parish extending from north to south twenty-four miles, and upwards of one hundred acres remaining uncultivated. The situation of the town is on the north side of a spacious bay, in which the soundings are from four to thirty fathoms, the anchorage is excellent, and the space sufficient for a large fleet of ships. The entrance is but poor, being only defended by a fort, situated on a small point of land, about half a mile from the town to the north-east. This fort mounts a few guns, and may hold a slender garrison of a few regulars; but the bay is so wide, that an enemy might enter it and come to an anchor out of the reach of the guns. The inhabitants, therefore, for the security of the town, have been obliged to build barracks capable of lodging one hundred privates and their officers: these are situated on a rock by the side of the harbour, the most convenient spot for successful defence. In fact, Montego is become the emporium of the western part of the island, and merits every attention of its legislature as a station of the first importance, especially in time of war; as the bay is capable of receiving a considerable naval force in ships and transports, for any expedition.

From St. James's there is a direct way along the coast to the adjoining parish of Trelawney, so named in honour of a former governor of the island, Sir James Trelawney. The prospect in travelling to it is dreary. On one side is the roaring sea; and, on the other, is an almost uninterrupted range of craggy mountains, which run along the north side of the island, here and there indented by creeks and bays, and cleft

as it were by rivers. In fact, few districts of Jamaica present to the eye a more wild and barren aspect than the tract which lies to the eastward of Long Bay, till the cultivated parts of Trelawney open to view.

This parish is divided from St. Anne, on the east, by the river Bueno; the sea forms its northern boundary; and, in the southern quarter, it joins the parish of St. Elizabeth. It has but one capital river, the Marthabræ, which is supposed to have its source among the mountains, about twelve miles distant from the sea-coast: but there is no settlement near the spring, so that the situation cannot be exactly ascertained. This river runs in a serpentine course for about thirty miles before it reaches the harbour. The depth of water is sufficient for small vessels, and it is navigable for some miles inland by boats and canoes. The town of Marthabræ is built on a rising ground about two miles above the mouth of the river. This river, which glides by the town, abounds with fish of various kinds, and twines so delightfully, that its banks may be laid out in productive gardens, both for pleasure and utility. The harbour is defended by a small fort, erected on Point Mangrove, projecting to the sea on the west side: and barracks for one hundred men and their officers, are situated a small distance from the fort; but the ground on which they stand is swampy, and requires draining to make it healthy.

The country in the vicinity of Marthabræ is well cultivated to the distance of about six miles; but further on to the eastward it still wears a savage aspect. The parish extends more than fifteen miles inland, yet it is but imperfectly settled to the distance of six miles from the sea. A space remains behind of eighty thousand acres, uninhabited, of which little more is known than that it is very mountainous; no public road having been hitherto attempted, to enable the inhabitant or the stranger to traverse the country, which therefore remains as it were undiscovered.

Other parts of the parish appear to be susceptible of great improvements and of valuable plantations. In the eastern extremity there is a succession of fine Pimento trees, regularly planted in walks, which continue with little interruption beyond the river Bueno, the boundary between Trelawney and St. Anne. The beauty of these spicy groves, interspersed with orange, wild cinnamon, and other choice trees, is highly gratifying to the beholder.

Having thus completed a more distinct survey of the counties and parishes of this island than is to be found in any other modern history, it only remains that we add a general statement of its population, produce, plantations, and settlements.

For this purpose, we shall, as far as possible, compress the whole into a single point. To do this, we shall appeal to the most authentic document extant in England—the report of a committee of the House of Assembly, made in December 1791. Information of a more recent date might have been easily obtained; but novelty makes a very indifferent atonement for the want of authenticity. Of the authority to which we appeal, no question can be made. This circumstance has guided our inquiry, and decided the preference which we have given.

		Negro Slaves cultivating them.
In the year 1791, the number of sugar plantations amounted to	767—	140,000
Farms appropriated to the breeding and grazing of cattle	1047—	31,000
Plantations applied to the cultivation of coffee	607—	21,000
Of the more diminutive farms, where provisions are raised, and on which cotton, pimento, ginger, and other equally valuable articles, are grown, no accurate statement has been given. But the number of negroes employed on these various branches has been estimated at		58,000
In this last number are included the numerous slaves who are resident in the various towns, and engaged in the domestic avocations: so that, according to this calculation, the whole body of enslaved negroes in the island of Jamaica amounted in the year 1791 to		250,000
The Maroon negroes, of whose numbers no accurate estimate could be made, were supposed to amount to		1,400
The negroes who had obtained their freedom, and the people of colour, were estimated at		10,000
The white inhabitants of both sexes, and every age		30,000
Total number of inhabitants of all complexions		291,400

From the above period to the present, the most rapid improvements have taken place in almost every article of commerce. These improvements have tended to augment the general number of the inhabitants, and more particularly of the slaves. In the year 1797, these latter were increased to up-

wards of 300,000; and not less than 200,000 of them were then employed in cultivating sugar alone. From that time to the present, the augmentation has been at least in an adequate proportion in almost every branch of trade. It is evident from the following comparative estimates, made in 1788 and 1797, that coffee has not been neglected, while the cane has engrossed so much of the planter's care and attention.

At the former period there were exported to	*lbs.*
Great Britain	808,528
To America	393,273
	1,201,801
At the latter period, to Great Britain	6,708,272
To America	1,223,349
	7,931,621

These rapid advances in prosperity, which appear in the short space of ten years, have continued from that period to the present. The number, therefore, of labourers necessary to carry on these and other branches of cultivation, must have increased in a regular proportion. If, therefore, we duly estimate the circumstances before us, and reflect upon the ardour with which the slave-trade was urged by the merchants and landholders, for many years prior to its abolition, we cannot fix the number of enslaved negroes, now in Jamaica, at less than 400,000, even on a moderate calculation.

CHAP. XI.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Natural history of Jamaica—soil, grass, esculents—vegetables—exotics—trees and fruits—description of logwood—of indigo and of cotton—of the mountain crab—of insects, particularly of the moscheto and fire-fly—reptiles, yellow, black, and silver snakes—lizards in their varieties—of various species of fishes—birds in their varieties—of various kinds of animals—of mountains, ores, &c.

Epitome of the natural history of Jamaica, from the earliest and best authorities.

FROM the voluminous writers on that curious, useful, and entertaining subject, natural history, it is no easy task to reduce within a narrow compass, and yet with due precision, such a description of its various objects in any one country, as may prove satisfactory to the reader of its civil history. This, however, we have undertaken to perform with respect to all the islands of the West Indies, separately: and as in the civil history, so likewise in this department, Jamaica, the principal British Colony, takes the lead.

The soil of the island is various: the savanna lands are for the most part clayey, or intermixed with sandy spaces, some of which are of great depth and extent. These are called Sandgalls, and produce no other vegetable than a small wire grass, unfit for pasturage, but applicable to many other purposes: when dried, it is used instead of hair to mix with plaster for cielings, stuffing for saddles, chairs, &c. and for thatching negro cottages. Many of the hills, especially those nearest the south coast, are covered with rocks of a kind of shell marble, which makes an excellent lime, and is used for buildings. The interstices of these rocks are filled with a fine black mould, which is extremely fertile, and proper for maize, and other provisions, such as yams and cocoas. In the interior parts of the island, the hills, and even the mountains, are covered to their summits with a vast depth of soil of various sorts. The principal of these are—a red clay on a white marl—a ditto on a grit—a reddish brown ditto on marl—a yellowish clay mixed with common mould—a red grit—a loose calca-

reous mould—a black mould, on a clay or other substratum—a loose black vegetable mould, on rock—a fine sand—and their varieties.

The black mould is much the best of any of the hilly lands for culture, and produces the finest canes. The soil of the vallies is still more various, as it is compounded partly from the washings of surrounding eminences, and partly of the sediment deposited by rivers and floods of rain.

The stately woods, which adorn most parts of the island, are filled with trees whose bulk and loftiness exceed any in Europe. Many of them are from one hundred to one hundred and thirty feet in height, and to a considerable height entirely destitute of branches, which gives them a more majestic appearance. Cotton and cedar trees have been cut in the island, which measured ninety feet from the base to the limbs; and several mahoganies, little inferior. To these may be added, the trumpet tree and snake wood, which grow in most of the woody parts of the island, and rise to a considerable height, being seldom, in their most perfect state, under thirty-five or forty feet. It is a general rule, that a rocky and indifferent soil is always to be known by stunted, crooked trees: on the contrary, a deep good mould is distinguished by trees of a large diameter, straight and tall.*

In this delightful island, both maize and Guinea corn are cultivated with much success. Each species is amazingly productive; but the former, from the number of its crops, is most advantageous. Much, however, depends upon the seasonable weather. If, when the grain is deposited in the earth, a considerable drought ensues, one crop is all that can be expected: a happy intermixture of sunshine and showers produces two;

* When we confine our observations to straightness, height, and beauty, the Barbadoes cabbage-tree may justly claim the pre-eminence, and be styled the princess of the forest. The seeds of this tree were first introduced into Jamaica by Governor Knowles, and the soil has been found congenial to their nature. Since his time, though these trees have been cultivated with great care, they have rather been kept for ornament than service, because beauty rather than utility is their principal recommendation. "It rises (says Browne) by a tall straight trunk, which bilges moderately at some distance from the root, and shoots from thence to the top in a regular cylindric tapering body. On the top it spreads into a large and beautiful foliage. The external leaves of this foliage are erect, and embrace those that are internal; so that the resemblance of the tree is continued at some distance after the timber ceases. The young leaves of this tuft of foliage are remarkably tender when boiled, and yield a most delicious flavour. But prodigality and profusion must reach to an enormous pitch, before such a tree could be destroyed for a momentary gratification." Browne says, that "Mr. Ray makes mention of one of these trees, that was observed to grow to the height of *two hundred and seventy feet*, or thereabouts."

and occasionally three have been reaped in the same year. The soil also in no small degree determines the profits of the harvest. When that is congenial, forty bushels have been produced by a single acre; while an uncongenial soil, and unfavourable weather, sometimes stint the crop to fifteen. From the Guinea corn, more than one harvest has never been produced; but the quantity which nature yields, in some measure compensates for the tardiness of her movements. But even this is subjected to variations, arising from the soil and the weather. When both have been favourable, an acre has been known to yield sixty bushels; but when these have been unpropitious, half the quantity has been all that has rewarded the planter for his toils. This grain is in general sown in September; its vegetation is promoted by the mildness of the West India winter; it ripens in the month of January; and harvest immediately commences.

Among the Calavances, a peculiar species of the pea is sometimes cultivated; but its small value, the attention which it requires, and the little demand which is made for it, prevent it from being honoured with general notice. The rice which might be raised, would be entitled to much more regard, were it not that it requires a soil which is pernicious to the health of those who are employed in its cultivation. This circumstance gives it a forbidding aspect; the life of the slave being of more value to the planter, than the rice which might be raised by his labour in the most favourable year. In addition to this, many articles of greater importance, which are in themselves more productive, and attended with less risk, point out more profitable sources of wealth, which may be directed either to home consumption or foreign exportation.

Among the valuable articles cultivated for domestic use, the Guinea Grass claims the first place. It is not, however, a native of the island, but was imported about sixty years since from the coast of Guinea (whence it obtains its name), as food for some birds which were carried from thence to Jamaica as objects of curiosity. The death of the birds soon after their arrival rendered the seeds apparently useless, and as such they were thrown away. Shortly afterwards, the herbage which sprang from them was perceived to flourish in a most luxuriant manner. This attracted the notice of the cattle; and the attachment of the cattle to this grass soon excited the attention of the planter. From this solitary spot it was propagated through the island: the soil was every where found congenial to its nature; and even the rocks in general were soon clothed with its verdure. The introduction of this grass soon increased the number of grazing and breeding farms, on spots where the

hand of cultivation had rarely laboured before: and the effects were soon rendered visible in the large supplies which, at a moderate rate, crowded the Jamaica markets. It is chiefly owing to this circumstance, that to the present time the island abounds with beef and mutton, which for cheapness and quality may challenge most of the markets of the towns in Europe.

To this exotic must be added another species, denominated Scotch or Scots Grass, which, though inferior to the former, has been found to be highly valuable. This grass is a native of the island, and was found in great plenty when Jamaica fell into our hands. It sprung up spontaneously in the low and marshy grounds. It has since been very generally cultivated, but has been found to thrive most luxuriantly in the swampy lands. It is so productive, as to afford an almost constant supply of fodder for horses and mules, during the time they are kept in the stables.

The manner in which the inhabitants propagate this grass, is by separating the joints, and inserting the detached parts in small drilled holes, made in the earth to receive them. They are fixed about two feet asunder, and begin to vegetate in a few days. The roots and joints of the new plant speedily increase; and the latter branch out into new shoots, which spread along the ground, and soon fill the field in which they had been originally planted. Its general growth is from two to four feet. It is mostly ripe for cutting in about six months from its first planting; and if the ground be kept free from weeds, it will then afford a crop once every month or six weeks. When once planted, it will stand many years, and the failure of a few roots can easily be supplied by new joints being planted in their room. An acre of good land well filled with this plant, near Kingston or Spanish Town, has been estimated at no less than £120 per annum, as its cultivation is attended with fewer inconveniences than that of any other plant of the island.

The esculent vegetables of the native growth of the island are, cocoa, ochre, lima-bean, Indian-kale, plantains, bananas, yams of different sorts, calalue, (a species of spinach,) eddoes, cassavi, and sweet potatoes. A plantain gathered unripe, and roasted, supplies the place of bread with many whites, and, in the estimation of the negroes, is almost invariably preferred before it: but since the introduction of the bread-fruit trees, brought hither by Captain Bligh from Otaheite in 1793, it is most probable it will be less valued by the latter. Besides the above-mentioned, all the vegetables which kitchen-gardens produce for common use in England, thrive also in the hilly parts of this island. As for fruits, their variety and excellent quality

can hardly be equalled in any other country. The following are reputed to have been of native spontaneous growth, before the Europeans settled on the island—the anana or pine-apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet-sop, cashew-apple, custard-apple, (a species of chirimoya,) cocoa-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plumb and its varieties, pindal-nut, nesbury, mammee, mammee-sapota, Spanish-gooseberry, and prickly-pear.

The cinnamon* and mango-trees, it has been said, were first brought into the island, in 1782, by Lord Rodney. He took them, with other East India plants, from on board a French ship, which he captured on her passage from the Isle of Bourbon to St. Domingo, and presented them to the inhabitants. Since that time they have flourished to such perfection, that they are become, as it were, naturalized to the country. The vine, the fig, the melon, and pomegranate, the lemon, the lime, the orange, and the shaddock, with all their numerous varieties, though comparatively covering the surface of the island when it fell into our hands, have generally been thought to be exotics. If they be exotics, they must have been introduced at an early period, soon after the discoveries of Columbus; and, under divine providence, must have spread in various directions, as nature stimulated vegetation, till they ran into the varieties in which they were found.

The medicinal plants are various, and almost innumerable in their species, of which no satisfactory abridgment can be given. They may, however, be found properly classed, and amply described, in Dr. Browne's Civil and Natural History of Jamaica,

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* This aromatic spice was, however, not totally unknown in the island long before this period, though the quality might have been somewhat inferior. Sloane mentions the cinnamon tree in his catalogue, and gives a long description of it in pages 87 and 88, vol. II. He says, that it "grew about twenty or thirty feet high, and was about the thickness of the calf of one's leg, having many twigs and branches hanging downwards, making a very comely top." The bark consisted of one outward rind, was thin, and of a grayish colour, and was of a very biting and aromatic taste, something like cloves. "All the parts of this tree (continues Sloane) are very aromatic, hot, and biting to the taste; which, if too troublesome, is cured by fair water. It grows in the low land or savanna woods very frequently, and on each side of the road between Passage Fort and St. Jago de la Vega, in Antigua and the Caribbees." "The bark (he continues) is used as a spice, in all our hot plantations, very much; and is cured by only cutting it off the tree and letting it dry in the shade." Thus, both the name and description concur to convince us, that this valuable spice was not a perfect stranger to the island before Lord Rodney brought it thither. At the same time it seems reasonable to conclude, that the cinnamon tree last imported was of a superior quality to that of which Sloane speaks; but whether the ancient species was a native or an exotic, I take not upon me to determine.

illustrated with elegant engravings, folio edition, London, 1789. We cannot, however, omit mentioning the Lignum Campechianum, in Sir Hans Sloane's catalogue, in English called Logwood; about the cutting of which, in the bay of Honduras and Campeachy, so many serious disputes have taken place between the Spaniards and our countrymen. As it is of great use in dyeing, care has been taken to cultivate this shrub in many parts of Jamaica; but the quantity produced is not sufficient to answer the large demands from Great Britain. It was therefore stipulated, by an article in the treaty of peace concluded at Amiens, that the English logwood-cutters in those bays should not be interrupted or molested by the Spaniards.

Of this wood Sloane observes, vol. ii. page 183, that it is cut about the town of Campeachy, on the southern continent, in great quantities, and brought to Jamaica as an article of traffic, to be forwarded to Europe by the traders of that island. In its natural state it is of a dirty colour on the outside, from the injuries of the weather, and an exposure to the salt water. It is remarkably heavy; and when the sap is taken off, its colour is of a reddish brown. Dr. Browne observes, that it was first introduced into Jamaica from the main, and is now cultivated in many parts of the island. It thrives best in low swampy ground, or shallow waters, where the bottom is rich and moderately firm. It seldom rises more than twelve or fourteen feet in height, or exceeds seven inches in diameter. Its trunk is of irregular growth, and is generally short and uneven. Of its various uses little need be said. Its value is well known in most parts of Europe, and its name is as familiar in England as that of many trees which are natives of our soil. It is the chief ingredient in all purple dyes, and a principal one in our best blacks. Both the bark and gum of this tree are gentle subastringents; but the last excels by adding a sweetness to its virtue, which makes it more agreeable to the palate.

The cotton shrub is a plant of luxurious growth, and one of the staple commodities of Jamaica for exportation to the mother country. All our fustians, calicoes, Manchester velvets, &c. are made of this article; and they form a very considerable branch of the foreign trade of Great Britain. The plant thrives best in a rich gravelly soil.

This valuable shrub, which is deservedly much cultivated, seldom rises above six feet in height, and sometimes not more than four or five. It is planted in regular walks, at such convenient distances from one another, as to give the branches room to spread. If the ground in which it is planted be too rich, the branches will grow with too much luxuriance; in which

case pruning becomes necessary to preserve the crop. It yields two crops annually, one in May, and the other in September. The native wool which it produces, is inclosed in little pods, and these pods burst when the cotton is ripe, and expose their seeds to the breezes and the sun. They are then gathered, and the seeds are separated from the wool by a machine, in which two rollers are so placed as to afford the wool a free passage between them, while the seeds are expressed. The wool is then picked according to its quality, and packed up for exportation. The plants, which are propagated from the seeds, must be carefully preserved from weeds; the earth must be loosened around them, when they first begin to shoot; and the seeds, when first deposited in the earth, must be but slightly covered with mould.

All the different sorts of indigo being cultivated in every part of America, it needs only to be observed, that great quantities are planted in Jamaica, and that the produce is a principal article of exportation to Great Britain.*

The reptile tribe next demands particular attention. Yet, so far as regards our present subject, we have but little to offer to the reader; for all the classes are common to the West India Islands in general, and only a very small number are peculiar

* Of indigo there are four distinct species, and they are differently denominated, and variously described. The first is the Indigo Berry. This is a small shrub, and commonly shoots to the height of seven or eight feet. The principal stalk is both tough and hard: the branches are somewhat prickly at the ends; and the leaves, which are of an oval figure, grow in tufts. The pulp of its berries, which are numerous, is very thick, and communicates both to paper and linen a fine blue stain, which soap will not take out: but as these berries are not remarkably full of juice, no great attention has been paid to the cultivation of this plant.

The second kind is denominated the Indigo Plant. This is by no means of a hardy nature; it yields, indeed, a large portion of native dye, but its quality is of an inferior sort. The quantity, however, is a material consideration; and though the cultivation of this species is attended with many hazards, it is generally preferred. The plant itself varies from the former in its stature, and rarely rises to a height that exceeds two feet and a half.

The third is the Guatimala Indigo Plant, probably so called from having been imported from Guatimala. It frequently rises to the height of three or four feet, and shoots up several suberect branches as it rises from the ground. It is of a much hardier nature than the Indigo Plant. The pulp which it yields is much superior in quality to that which the Indigo Plant produces; but at the same time it is deficient in quantity. The hardiness of its nature, however, ensures a tolerable cultivation: but it is generally confined to fields which are not wholly appropriated to the purpose, and to those places where the seasons are precarious.

The last species is the Wild Indigo, so denominated from its growing wild in all the savannas of Jamaica. There can be little doubt that this plant was cultivated in former years, perhaps when the island was in the possession of the Spaniards; because many indigo works which were then erected remain visible to the present day. The dye of this plant is excellent in quality, per-

to Jamaica. Of these, the ship-worm of Jamaica is the first in order. This insect is extremely destructive to all the ships that anchor for any time in the harbours of the island. It cuts with great facility through the planks, and burrows a considerable way in the substance of them. It pierces with equal ease through most sorts of timber. Palm-trees alone are free from the attacks of these insects. To remedy this evil in part, the bottoms of most of the ships employed in the West India trade are sheathed with copper. In the harbour of Kingston, these reptiles generally destroy the largest piles of the hardest and most resinous wood in the space of a few years.

In class 2, of insects that are composed of solid as well as muscular parts, and furnished with stiff articulated limbs, as well as proper organs of vision, Dr. Browne gives a curious description of the Black or Mountain Crab, agreeing in every material circumstance with the accounts of the French writer, Du Tertre, translated by Dr. Goldsmith in his history of the animated earth, and from him copied by Bryan Edwards.

These creatures, says Browne, are very numerous in some parts of Jamaica; they are generally of a dark purple: but this often varies, and you frequently see them spotted, or entirely of another hue. They live chiefly on dry land, and at a considerable distance from the sea, which, however, they visit once a year, to wash off their spawn; and afterwards return to the woods and higher lands, where they continue for the remaining part of the season; nor do the young ones ever fail to follow them, as soon as they are able to crawl. The old crabs generally regain their habitations in the mountains, which are seldom less than a mile, and do not often exceed three from the shore, by the latter end of June; and then provide themselves with convenient burrows, in which they pass the greatest part of their days, going out only at night to feed. In December and January they begin to be in spawn, and are then very fat and delicate, but continue to grow richer till the month of May, which is the season for them to wash off their eggs. They begin to move down towards the sea in February, and are very much abroad in March and April; but the males about this time begin to lose both their flavour and the richness of their

haps superior to that of any of the former kinds. Though the quantity is not considerable, yet the hardiness of the plant, in a great measure, supplies that deficiency. No soil in these regions appears unpropitious to it: even in the driest savannas it will flourish with luxuriance. Each species should, however, be refreshed with moisture, to reach that perfection which its nature is capable of attaining. In the history of Martinico, the reader will find some additional observations on cotton and indigo.

juices. It is remarkable, that the bag or stomach of this creature changes its juices with the state of the body; and while poor, it is full of a black, bitter, disagreeable fluid, which diminishes as it fattens; and at length acquires a delicate rich flavour. About the month of July or August, the crabs fatten again, and prepare for moulting; filling up their burrows with dry grass, leaves, and abundance of other materials. When the proper time comes, each retires to his hole, shuts up the passage, and remains quite inactive, till he gets rid of his old shell, and is fully provided with a new one. How long they continue in this state, is uncertain; but the shell is first observed to burst both at the back and sides, to give a passage to the body; and it extracts its limbs from all the other parts gradually afterwards. At this time the flesh is in the richest state, and covered only by a tender membraneous skin, variegated with a multitude of reddish veins; but this hardens gradually after, and becomes a perfect shell like the former. It is, however, remarkable, that during this change there are some stony concretions always formed in the bag, which waste and dissolve gradually as the creature forms and perfects its new crust.

This species of crab runs very fast, and always endeavours to get into some hole or crevice on the approach of danger. Nor does it wholly depend on its art or swiftness; for while it retreats, it keeps both its claws expanded, ready to catch the assailant, if he should come within its reach; and if it succeeds, it commonly throws off the claw, which continues to squeeze with incredible force for nearly a minute after; while the crab, regardless of the loss, endeavours to make its escape, and to gain a more secure or lonely covert, contented to renew its limb with its coat at the ensuing change: nor would it grudge to lose many of the others to preserve the trunk entire, though each comes off with more labour and reluctance, as their numbers lessen. This, I think, is the most rational and philosophical account of these extraordinary reptiles; whereas the bombast narrative of Du Tertre, comparing their march to the sea to that of an army for regularity and order, and making their number amount to millions at a time of new-born crabs sitting on the shores, is not authentic. Both Goldsmith and Edwards should have known better than to have inserted such absurd anecdotes in their respectable works.

A minute description of the insect tribe would be an almost endless task: the objects which this work is calculated to embrace, necessarily prescribe our limits here; and yet the peculiarities of the insect race ought not wholly to be passed over in

silence. We shall, therefore, give a brief description of two, the moscheto and the fire-fly.

The moscheto is well known in most of the tropical regions; on the continent and islands it is alike at home. It is a species of the gnat kind, which it much resembles. As these insects seek their food by night, they are excessively troublesome to the inhabitants, and particularly so to those who have but just landed on the coasts. They bite with particular venom, and the skin commonly blisters whenever it has been perforated by them; and sometimes these blisters terminate in obstinate sores. The inhabitants of low and woody parts, to which these disturbers of tranquillity resort, are frequently obliged to raise a considerable smoke about their habitations, to disperse these unwelcome visitors; and in most parts they are compelled to sleep with a species of net thrown over their beds, to prevent annoyances in the night. On some parts of the main they swarm in such abundance, as not only to render the lives of the inhabitants uncomfortable by their bites and buzzings, but even precarious and hazardous.

Another most curious and extraordinary insect, very common in Jamaica, and mostly met with in the mountains and inland parts, is the large fire-fly, thus described by Browne: "This insect is of an oblong form, about an inch or better in length, and moderately broad in proportion. It is very strong and elastic; and being thrown on its back, will sometimes spring to the height of four or five inches above the level on which it is placed. This insect, besides the peculiarity of its spring, is one of the greatest curiosities the island affords; for it really is a perfect phosphorus for a considerable part of its life, most of its internal parts being at times luminous. But though the luminous rays flow naturally from the insect while awake, it seems to have the power of interrupting them at pleasure, and then they are quite opake. A person may, with great ease, read the smallest print by the light of one of these insects, if held between the fingers, and moved gradually along the lines, with the luminous spots immediately over the letters; but eight or ten of them being put in a clear phial, will give light enough to read and write by it very clearly. They are seldom seen in the day-time, but wake with the evening, and continue to move and glow for a considerable part of the night. They fly very disorderly in general, and their frequent obscure intervals render their flight still more confused; but they move towards each other, for nature seems to have given them these luminous powers to distinguish one another; and hence the negroes have learned the art of holding one between their fingers, and waving it up and down, so that it may be seen by others, who

fly directly towards it, and pitch upon the hand. They will do the same, when, for want of one of their species as a decoy, the negroes take a burning stick, or a candle, and wave it up and down, if they do not discover the deceit before they come too near. They are so drowsy and torpid by day, that it is a difficult matter to make them shew any sign of life; and if they do, it is only to fall into the same state immediately after; yet, while they keep awake, they are luminous, though they recover their full vigour only with the night."

Sloane says, that these fire-flies have four lights, two about the eyes, and two under the wings; and that they are frequently caught, and carried to the habitations of men, because they hunt and destroy the mosquetos, and take them about the persons that sleep in hammocks. The luminous rays of this insect continue in full vigour till they grow hungry, when they begin gradually to languish, and the insect will expire unless discharged from this state of confinement.

Of reptiles there are several classes, both of the serpent and lizard tribe, common to all the West India Islands: but the Yellow Snake is the most known in Jamaica; it is frequently from eight to sixteen or twenty feet in length. These serpents have a horny protuberance on each side of the anus, which may, upon occasion, help them in climbing trees, which they often do with great ease. The yellow snakes* move but slow-

* On this extraordinary reptile, Sir Hans Sloane has made some observations which cannot fail to entertain the curious, who have not had an opportunity of inspecting his work.

The Yellow Snake is for the most part to be found in the woody mountains, coiled up in the paths as ropes in a ship. They are not hurtful, unless irritated; nor will they bite, unless they have their young near them, and it is in their defence. Their bitings rarely prove mortal, although sometimes the wounds are very much swelled and inflamed—prove tedious in curing, and are much worse than those inflicted by the black snake.

They feed on birds and rats, which they swallow whole, without any inconveniency. Many have been killed with thirteen or fourteen rats in each of their bellies.

The Indians (Sloane observes) catch them without any difficulty. An Indian, who had brought him several, used to take them behind the neck so that they could not bite him, and then permit them to twist about his arm with their bodies as they pleased. When disposed to kill them, his method was, to put the tail of what he had taken under his foot, and to hold the neck in his hands; and then, stretching the snake till the back bone was either injured or dislocated, and pinching or twisting the lungs with violence, soon accomplished his purpose.

A hunter told Sloane, that once hearing his companion groan lying by him, he saw that by a snake twisting itself about him he could not speak. Seeing his companion in that dangerous situation, he immediately obtained a stick, on fire at one end, which he held towards the snake. On perceiving the approaching brand, the reptile stretched out its head, and began to hiss; which

ly, catching their prey more by stealth or chance than by agility: but when they fix themselves upon a tree, their length generally enables them to seize every thing they can manage that passes underneath; for they wind their tail part round some limb, and stretch the fore part downwards.

The Silver Snake of Jamaica, which is but rarely to be found,

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the man perceiving, seized the opportunity, and instantly cut off its head. The body of the snake, after some time, relaxed its hold, and the man, who had been detained a prisoner, was set at liberty. He related that his situation was such, that he could not long have survived, without being rescued from his imprisonment. Sloane conceives that the circulation of the blood was stopped by the twisting of the snake: and by this means we may easily conceive that it might destroy any animal which it could encircle within its folds.

They in general nestle about old cabbage trees, hollow stumps, &c. If the places of their retreat are explored, and cleft with an axe or other instrument, as soon as light enters they thrust out their heads, and are soon dispatched.

But since these reptiles are the avowed enemies of the rats, which are so destructive to the sugar-canes, the planters are not solicitous to destroy the race. Interest, which associates with man in general, and interweaves itself with the majority of his actions, affords protection to the most noxious reptiles. It is, perhaps, extremely difficult to say in what region we shall fix its bounds, though I am by no means an advocate for its universal application. But the real Christian alone is an exception.

Noxious, however, as these reptiles are, they are not destitute of sagacity; and they are capable of acquiring docility, since they may be tamed. "I had one of this kind (says Sloane) tamed by an Indian for me: it would follow the Indian as a dog would his master."

A snake thus domesticated by an Indian was given to Sir Hans Sloane; which, together with a guana and an alligator, he designed to bring with him into England; but unfortunately he failed in respect to them all. The snake was preserved in a large jar, the mouth of which was covered over with boards, and these boards secured with weights. It was fed every day with the entrails of fowls, and such other articles as the kitchen produced, and seemed for some time highly pleased with its situation. Confinement at length grew irksome, and the snake (which was about seven feet in length) forced aside the boards which covered the jar, and obtained its freedom. It then got to the top of a large house, the inhabitants of which, not liking such company, shot it dead.

The guana was put on board, and lived at large for some time; till one day, as it was running over the gunwale of the vessel, it was frightened by one of the seamen, jumped overboard, and was drowned.

The alligator continued some time longer, but did not live to reach the port of its destination. It embarked on the 16th of March, 1688, and was confined in a large tub filled with salt water, and was fed with nearly the same food that had been given to the snake. It continued from that time to the 14th of May following, when, without any particular accident, it died.

For the substance of this note I am indebted to Sir Hans Sloane. The particulars have been collected from different pages of his work, and in several parts inserted in his own language. The materials may be found in vol. ii. pages 335, 336, and 346.

is remarkably small, when compared to the yellow snake which we have just described. It seldom exceeds sixteen inches in length, is larger in proportion to its length, and is generally found in the hollow parts of decayed trees. One thing remarkable in the silver snake is, that the anus is placed so near the mouth, that it has sometimes been taken for it. They are generally considered as extremely venomous, though specific instances of their poison have rarely occurred.

The large Black Snake, more active and slender than either of the foregoing, is also an inhabitant of Jamaica. It is about twelve feet in length, and towards the tail is more tapering than even the yellow snake. In common with all others of a similar species, it is deemed poisonous; but it seems to be a character unsupported by proof.

The small Black Snake differs from the former by its size, its slender make, and its extreme activity. It rarely exceeds three feet in length, and is thought by many to be exceedingly venomous, though no mischief was ever known to be done by it. These serpents are plentiful in most of the islands, and are not easily intimidated. They frequently erect themselves on the hinder part of their bodies, and assume in moments of danger very formidable attitudes; and this circumstance probably has procured for them that character which they have not otherwise merited.

The Alligator or Crocodile is of the lizard species, though differing from the general tribe in many essential particulars; as, first, with respect to its size, which is monstrous, being from fourteen to twenty-four feet in length. It moves very slowly on the ground, and generally seeks its prey in the water; but when any small animals come in its way on land, within reach, it seizes them eagerly, and soon destroys them. This creature has a strong musky scent, by which it is frequently discovered at a distance; and its eyes are like those of the cat and shark. The alligator has been observed to live for many months without any visible sustenance; which experiment has been frequently tried at Jamaica, by tying their jaws with wire, and putting them, thus tied up, into a pond, well, or water-tub, where they live for a considerable time; but often rise to the surface to take breath. Though the shape of the body is like the lizard, it differs in having the whole surface covered over in appearance like a tortoise; but the skin may be more properly said to be hardened into a horny substance from space to space, than to be furnished with real scales. The tail is oblong, pointed, and nearly quadrilateral. These creatures lay their eggs in the sand: the eggs are somewhat larger than those of

a goose, and, as they are pretty transparent, readily shew the first formation and growth of the animal.*

The next species of lizards is the Great Lizard, called also the Guana. It has a long, forked, muscular tongue, divided toes, and a scaly skin: it lives a considerable time without food, and changes its colour with the weather, or the moisture of its place of residence. It is supposed to live upon imperceptible particles, lapped up in the air; for it is observed frequently to throw out its forked tongue like the chameleon,† as it walks along; and is never seen to touch any thing on the ground.

The flesh of this creature is relished by many people, served up in fricassees at table, and thus prepared is preferred by many to the best fowls. Father Labat corroborates this use of this species of the lizard as a delicious food, for which purpose the negroes in the French islands are employed to catch them. This is accomplished in the following manner: the negro carries with him into the fields a long rod, at one end of which

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* The Scorpion of the West Indies is too conspicuous among the enemies of mankind to be entirely omitted in this brief description. The scorpion is a native of many regions, and it is generally said that in cold countries it loses its venom. In most of the sugar plantations it is well known; but its chief places of residence are in dry uninhabited houses, and decayed buildings. It is a creature which seems destitute of fear, and is at once vigilant and daring. When threatened with approaching danger, instead of attempting to retreat, it assumes an undaunted resolution, and puts itself in a posture of defence. Its sting is in its tail, which it erects, darts forward, and exposes in every gesture of defiance. When any animal approaches within its reach, it is seized with the utmost avidity; and the sting, which is accompanied with malignant poison, is darted into the creature with very great virulence. The wound inflicted by the sting, and contaminated by poison, is extremely painful; and those parts which lie contiguous soon put on a livid appearance. The utmost care must be taken, in dressing the wounded part, to prevent the poisonous matter from spreading, and to preserve the patient from falling by a mortification. The scorpion has some distant resemblance to a lobster.

† The Chameleon may also be reckoned among the residents of Jamaica, and is certainly of the lizard tribe. It is a native of the eastern continent, and was originally imported into this island from the coast of Guinea. The head is disproportionably large, the jaws well stored with teeth, and the sockets of the eyes deeply sunk in the head. It has four feet, and on each foot the toes or claws are disposed somewhat like those of a parrot. It chiefly resides in the woods, and frequently takes its station on the slender branches of trees, on which it sustains itself with the greatest steadiness. In its movements it is extremely slow, though it is supported by preying upon the most active of the insect tribe. But though its motions are tardy, they are performed with so much ease and address, that its approaches are rarely suspected by the devoted prey. Advanced within a certain distance, it poizes its body as occasion may require, and uncoiling its long slender tongue, darts with inconceivable swiftness, and rarely fails to seize its prey. Another surprising circumstance, which tends to facilitate its success, is, that it changes its *colour with its station*, and by putting on the complexion of every twig and branch over which it passes, exhibits one of the most astonishing phenomena in nature.

is a piece of whipcord with a running noose. These lizards are generally found basking in the sun on the dry limb of a tree. The negro whistles as loudly as he can, to which the guana appears to be very attentive, and with which he seems to be highly pleased; for he stretches out his neck and turns his head, as if to enjoy the notes more completely. The negro then approaches, still whistling; and, extending his rod softly, begins tickling him with the end of it in the side and under the throat, which delights him so much that he turns on his back, stretches himself out at length like a cat before a good fire, and at length falls fast asleep. The negro then dexterously passes the noose over his neck, draws it tight, and thus secures him. These creatures are easily tamed, and will live in a house, lying upon a bed or sopha, quite indolent in the day-time; and may be permitted constantly to go out at night. But they lose their fat by being thus kept; and, dwindling away, are no longer fit for eating.*

The Galley Whasp is another of the lizard tribe, and sometimes exceeds two feet in length. It is an inhabitant of the woods, and of low marshy places. It is generally of a dirty colour, occasionally interspersed with stripes of a lighter or of a darker hue, and incidentally changes to a fine yellow, resembling gold. It is generally considered as by far the most venomous reptile that Jamaica produces, on which account it is both hated and dreaded. It is said, that its bite is always mortal, whether applied to man or beast; and no specific has hitherto been discovered sufficiently efficacious to counteract the malignity of its poison. But whether this be fact or not, I will not vouch. Its teeth are short, even, and immoveable; and no apertures are discovered in any, through which it can emit its poison. If it be of that venomous nature which is generally represented, it is more than probable that the poison it communicates must lie in its saliva, which immediately enters through the wound that the tooth inflicts. It has, indeed, been said, that none of the reptile tribe are really venomous, and that the bite of none is mortal in any of the West India Islands. This assertion may be founded upon fact; but it would be with the utmost reluctance that I should be induced to make the experiment.

Innumerable are the tribes of fishes that are found in the seas surrounding the West India Islands, and in the inland rivers, the names and proper descriptions of which would fill a moderate volume. Great varieties, and abundance of different

* See P. Labat, tom. iii. p. 315.

species, are brought to the markets of Jamaica; but very few are to be distinguished as known to that island alone; we shall, therefore, only notice those which are most remarkable there.

The Trumpeter, or Trumpet Fish, is frequently in the harbours in the months of June and July, and is generally about eighteen inches in length. The Anchovy, or small Silver Fish, about three inches in length, is very common in the harbours of Jamaica. It is very delicate, and in great esteem with most lovers of fish: it is generally eaten fried, and likewise pickled, and then is not inferior to the anchovy of Italy.

The Dolphin also is a native of most parts of the American seas, especially of those which lie in warm latitudes. This fish is remarkably voracious, and the avowed enemy of the flying-fish. Sloane observes, that "they are the swiftest swimmers that are, their bodies being contrived for that purpose. They pursue the flying-fish with avidity, till the latter get out of the water where the dolphins cannot reach. They love (continues Sloane) the company of ships, because of what scraps are now and then thrown overboard. I have been assured by some who have sailed in Guinea ships, that they have had the same shoal of dolphins follow them for many hundreds of leagues, between Guinea and Barbadoes. The dolphin is good for food, but is remarkably dry; and though much prized by voyagers, yet were it on shore in a market where other fish are to be had, it would be esteemed no great delicacy." "One thing very remarkable in this fish is, the various colours it puts on before it dies, being usually yellow with ranges or rows of small blue and round spots, which strangely change, and afford that pleasure to the eye, that I confess I never saw any thing of this nature so surprising. But after all it comes to a very light blue colour when dead, which it keeps ever after." Sloane, vol. i. page 21.

Another is the Old Wife. This fish is very much liked in America, but must be skinned before it is dressed. It is served up either boiled or stewed, and makes a very agreeable dish either way. The body is generally about twenty inches or more in length, and nine over.

Another species are called the Cuckold Fish. They are very rich food, and, when well stuffed and baked, excel all other sorts of fish in America.

The great Sea Devil is a fishy monster, very large, weighing commonly from 100 to 3000 pounds. It is very frequent in the harbour of Kingston, but is not good for food. Mullets, eels, perch, and many others of the sea-fish usually brought to the London markets, are likewise common in Jamaica,

The Shark, which is large, voracious, swift, and strong, frequents most parts of the Indian seas. "In the calms all over these seas (observes Sloane) it is ordinary to have sharks come about the ships. We had some often came to ours." The author may observe the same, who has seen them caught, and brought upon deck. When taken on board a ship, the violent blows with which they assail the decks with their tails, are tremendous, and even sometimes attended with danger. The seamen, therefore, in general cut them with a hatchet, which occasions an effusion of blood, and weakens their force. The mouth, instead of being at the extremity of the head, is placed considerably under, so that the shark must lie with its belly upward, to seize and feed upon its prey. And were it not for the time that it would take in turning to its proper position for swimming, no fish inferior in strength could escape. It grows sometimes to an enormous size, particularly in the Mediterranean. These fishes, like the dolphins, follow ships through trackless oceans, and hover round them in hopes of prey. They swim much swifter than a vessel which is under a press of sail; and pass from stem to stern, and from side to side, without any more apparent difficulty than if the ship had been lying at anchor. Oviedo observes, that "they enter the rivers, and are no less perilous than great lizards or crocodiles, devouring horses and mankind; and that the females bring forth about thirty-five young ones alive at a birth." Instances of their voracity and strength may be multiplied almost without end.

The Flying-fish is a species of an opposite nature to the shark. It has the happy faculty of removing from one element into another, but is pursued with avidity in both. In the water it is chased by dolphins and sharks, and in the air by cormorants and mews. These fish are of the herring tribe, which they somewhat resemble both in taste and form. They have two fins, remarkably large, from which they obtain assistance both in the water and the air. When closely pursued by the dolphins, so that their danger becomes pressing, they quit their native element, and fly sometimes nearly two hundred yards before they again drop into the water. The length of their aerial voyage seems to be determined by the wetness of their fins: while this continues, they remain above water; but when the fins become dry, they are obliged to fall immediately into their native element. They frequently move in shoals, and are to be found in most of the warm latitudes through the ocean. It often happens, that in their aerial excursions they light on ships, or in their boats; and as this is in their descent towards the water, they are taken with the utmost ease.

This the author has seen himself, who has also eaten of them, and approved of their taste.

The Grooper, the Rock-fish, and the Jew-fish, are generally esteemed as some of the best productions of the American seas. The jew-fish grows remarkably large, and has been known to weigh about three hundred pounds. It may be considered as an exception to a general rule which has been taught by experience, that excellency declines in proportion as magnitude increases.

The Porpoise, the Grampus, the Bottle-nose, and the Spermaceti Whale, are not strangers to the West Indian seas; but a minute detail of each would be tedious and uninteresting. Of the spermaceti whale, as its general character is known, much needs not be said. It is broad and unwieldy, and about sixty feet in length when fully grown: the teeth are straight, and of a conic form, about eighteen inches in length, and about six inches in circumference at the base. Its fins and solid bones are proportionably long and large. But large and powerful as this enormous fish is, it is not unfrequently attacked by the shark; and instances have been known, in which whales, when taken by man, have exhibited wounds which had been inflicted by those voracious enemies.

The Mantee is another of the enormous kind, and generally frequents the mouths of those large rivers which are peculiar to the western world. It is said to be exquisitely quick in hearing, having two apertures adapted to that purpose, as well as an equal number similar to nostrils, through which it occasionally breathes. The skin of this creature is remarkably strong and elastic, and, when cut into suitable portions, is no bad substitute for horsewhips. Both the mouth and nostrils are adapted for breathing, which can be performed only on the surface of the water, and is always accompanied with hideous groans. Its fins are proportionate to the bulk of its body, and that of the tail is remarkably broad and spreading. A great many of this tribe have been occasionally taken; they vary from each other in magnitude, and sometimes weigh not less than two thousand pounds. A vast variety of different kinds, not mentioned here, may be found in those seas, but they have nothing peculiar to recommend them to particular notice; we shall therefore quit the ocean for the land.

The mountains and woods abound with a variety of birds, some of them remarkable for their variegated and beautiful plumage, and others for their melodious notes. Amongst others are a small Martin, the whole upper parts of whose plumage are of a glossy, golden green, the inferior parts white; blue finches; dark brown thrushes; wood-peckers of various kinds; black-birds of the Merops species; blue sparrows; long and short-

tailed humming-birds; blue and red throat, and orange-coloured bull-finches; and brown petrels.

There are several species of doves natives of Jamaica, and all of them reckoned very rich and delicate food; the ring-tail pigeon; the bald-pate; the white-winged dove; the pea-dove, so called from its green colour (it has only a few white feathers in its wing, and it makes so loud a cooing in the woods, that it is heard at a considerable distance); the white-bellied dove; and the ground dove. They are wild, and feed on most kinds of wild grain, particularly the red mangrove, wild coffee berries, the berries of the prickly pole, &c.

There is also the Jamaica or Lesser Mock-bird, called also the Nightingale. "This," says Browne, "certainly excels all other birds both in sweetness of melody and variety of notes. It sings often with ecstasy; and in its raptures I have often observed it fly upright from its stand some yards, and run headlong down to the same place again. I have seen them frequently perch on some convenient tree near the houses in the savannas, and pour forth their little notes for many minutes together, as if they had been conscious of the pleasure they gave; and you may often observe the notes answered from the neighbouring woods on these occasions, but then they generally listen and sing by turns. These birds are seldom kept in cages: it is said they never thrive when confined; but this, I suppose, is owing to the people not keeping the proper food for them. It is extremely like the mock-bird of North America in shape and size, but they differ a little in colour.

The long-tailed Humming-bird, which is well known on the continent of America, is also an inhabitant of this island. It is chiefly noted for its variegated colours, its glossy plumage, its inconceivably rapid flight, and above all for its diminutive size. It is a species which seems to link together the insect and the feathered tribes. Its bill is slender, long, and arched; its tail rather long, and its legs and thighs remarkably short; its size is about that of any ordinary beetle.* Like many of the insect tribe, it draws its sustenance from that delicious nectar which the cups of flowers afford; it is chiefly on the wing, and flits from flower to flower with all the agility and industry of the

* Of this beautiful little creature, Sloane speaks as follows. It was about an inch and a quarter in length from the extremity of the bill to that of the tail; and about twice as much from the tip of one wing to that of the other, when extended. The bill was blackish, compressed, and about three quarters of an inch long; the tail very short; the head, neck, back, and wings brown, and of a changeable colour. They are to be found where flowers are. Their eggs are all white, and not so large as a small field pea. They make a noise in flying, just like a humming-bee. When they fly in sunshine, I think I never

bee. It is in general remarkably gentle; but when provoked, and in times of nestling, it exhibits a degree of fierceness, to which its strength is apparently unequal. In these seasons it pursues birds of the largest size, attacks them with impetuosity in the most tender parts, and rarely fails of putting them to flight; and when pursued, it escapes with such velocity that it is instantly out of sight. It builds its nest with cotton and down, and fastens it to some concealed spray of the lemon or orange tree.

The Mountain Hawk is a native of Jamaica, and lives chiefly in the cooler mountains: it is about the size of the English kite, and is a bird of prey, living mostly on young birds and lizards.

The Quail is not wholly unknown in Jamaica, though it is not a native of the island, but was originally imported from North America. The island is not hostile to the increase of this species: but they build their nests upon the ground; and the snakes, which are perpetually exploring their secret haunts, too frequently devour their eggs, and destroy their young. On this account they are not numerous, nor is it probable that the race will ever be considerable. Their size and manner of life bear much resemblance to that of an English partridge; from which circumstance they are not so commonly known in Jamaica by the name of quail as by that of the partridge.

Peacocks are also found in Jamaica: they vary but little from those which are known in England; but as they are not natives of the island, they are rather considered as objects of curiosity, and are chiefly to be met with at the habitations of the principal people.

The White-breasted Guinea Hen abounds in the island. Multitudes are wild in the woods, and they increase remarkably fast. They lay sixty, eighty, or a hundred eggs, and hatch at one brood a vast number of young. There is another species, not distinguished by the whiteness of its breast, but which is in other respects much the same as the former.

The Blue Mackaw, a more beautiful bird, though not so gaudy as the red, is a native of Jamaica, but not common, and is wild in the woods, particularly in the parish of St. Anne.

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saw a more beautiful sight; the feathers being most delicately coloured and transparent. Their humming seems to proceed from the action of their wings against the air. They are to be found all the year long in Jamaica; but more plentifully and in greater variety after the rains, when the flowers are most frequent. This bird, feathers, inwards, &c. being put into the balance when just killed, weighed not over twenty grains. The substance of this note is taken from Sloane, vol. ii. page 306.

The Gabbling Crow is a native of Jamaica, and very common in the inland woody parts. This bird is very shy and wary, and very noisy: it seems to imitate the sounds of most syllables in every language, in its gabblings. It feeds generally on fruits and other vegetable productions, and is frequently served up at table when young.

There are two species of parrots in the woods, natives of the island, both green; but one sort has a yellow bill. They are neither so beautiful, nor such good talkers, as the gray and green of other countries; they are, however, esteemed as delicate food, and are served up at some tables in preference to pigeons.

There are likewise two kinds of Parroquets; the one all green, the other green with a red breast. Of fowls there are the same kinds as in England; and, besides these, a great variety of water fowl, most of them brought from other parts, as the Spanish-main Duck, &c. But the Whistling Duck and the Teal are natives. The first sort breed so fast, that they are very common in all parts of the island, and are a standing dish at every table; but the other does not thrive so well, and its young are too often destroyed by amphibious animals. Both sorts frequent lagoons, ponds, and the bays and harbours.

The Carrion Crow, or Turkey Buzzard, has some resemblance to a turkey, both in its shape and appearance; only it is rather less in size. Like the turkey, the upper part of its beak is covered with a loose red skin: its sense of smelling is so exquisite, that it may be said to stand without a rival. It feeds on putrid carcases, and the most filthy excrements. It flies rather slowly, and directs its head towards the wind. The noxious exhalations soon strike upon its sense, and it moves immediately in pursuit of prey. In these warm regions, where putrefactions are the immediate successors of death, this bird is of essential service, as it hunts among the bushes for such animals or birds as may have retired to these lonely recesses to die. Both town and country are occasionally frequented by it; and but little doubt can be entertained, that it prevents the air in many cases from receiving a putrid taint. And so conscious have the inhabitants been of the great utility of these birds, that their safety was established before the days of Browne by legislative authority. They do not breed fast; and such is the peculiar constitution of their nature, that they smell most intolerably within a few minutes after they are killed.

The Flamingo was perhaps one of the most astonishing birds of which the new world could boast. In the days of Sloane, as that author observes, "it was very common in the marshy and fenny places, and likewise in the shallow bays of Jamaica,"

He observes, however, that he never saw this bird in Jamaica; but he had an account from several of the inhabitants, whom he thought very honest and understanding men, that it was found on the island. (Sloane vol. ii. 321.) In the days of Browne, as he himself tells us, "these birds, though inhabitants of Cuba and the main, were seldom seen in the island of Jamaica, except when forced thither by stormy weather, or imported by the curious." They go (says he,) in flocks, and keep generally by the sea side, where they have often proved a safeguard to the neighbouring settlers; their numbers, size, and colour, having sometimes imposed on the timorous and unwary, who have taken them for soldiers.* They are tall upright birds, and seem to hold a medium between those birds that live chiefly in water, and such as only frequent watery places; for though they swim with great ease, they live mostly near the surf. When they feed, they turn the upper part of the bill towards the ground, and the point towards their feet. (Browne, p. 480.)

The Flamingo is said to have been a bird of a most stately port. Though of a dark colour while young, except a few feathers on the crown of the head and the corners of the wings, it assumed a different colour as it advanced in years; it was then clothed with a most exquisite plumage of the most beautiful scarlet. The largeness and beauty of this bird rendered it at once an object of wantonness and curiosity, and without doubt caused it to be pursued with the most unfeeling avidity. Unable, through the eagerness of its pursuers, to increase its species, the whole race has long since been unknown in Jamaica: but whether, like many other sorts, it has been exterminated, or only driven from these its native seats, to find an abode in some more hospitable region, it is hard to say. Perhaps those which inhabited Jamaica are totally extinct, though the species may still be in existence in some distant and sequestered country, where they enjoy tranquillity, remote from the perfidy and wanton barbarity of man.

* That such a deception as this should be possible, may seem exceedingly strange; but the strangeness must disappear, when we admit an observation of Sir Hans Sloane. This author tells us, "that the best and greatest bird of St. Christopher's, is a Passer Flamingo, which walking at her length is as tall as a man." Vol. ii. page 321. Admitting this description, and the glare of its scarlet plumage, it must have formed a most majestic appearance; and when to this we add that these birds always associate in flocks, they must have assumed a terrific aspect to an invading army, totally ignorant of their existence. There is therefore nothing extravagant in the assertion of Browne, which says "that the timorous and unwary have taken them for soldiers." And we cannot but mention it with regret, that a bird so singularly beautiful should be, as far as we know, exterminated from the face of the earth.

When none but savages inhabited these sylvan recesses, the birds enjoyed their element, and lived without the dread of exterminating molestation. The flamingo, that glory of the forest, could then open the beauties of its plumage to the sun, and tinge the element as it flew with its waving fire. But numerous years have elapsed, since it has made its appearance in any of these islands; and unless the species has been preserved in the venerable forests of the continent, on some creeks of the ocean, which none but *savages* have yet discovered, we may henceforward inquire for the flamingo in vain.

But notwithstanding the beauties which the tropical birds exhibit, the profusions of nature, or rather of nature's God, have attuned their voices with a less sparing hand. Their plumage is more variegated and dazzling, but their notes are less harmonious than those which enliven the woods of our native land. The bounties of Providence seem distributed with equity even towards the feathered tribes, in a degree which we cannot contemplate without admiration. Those melodious notes, which gladden the forests of the temperate regions, make an ample amends for the deficiencies of external beauty, which between the tropics is lavished with all the intermixtures of light and shade.

It is not, however, to be imagined, that a perfect silence prevails throughout the torrid zone. Many of the warbling tribe unite their voices to break the silence of the groves. The Mocking-bird of America, and the native dove, which is an inhabitant of almost every country, conspire to delight the ear with the harmony which their voices afford. The former, which seems to have no particular notes of its own, imitates those of almost every other bird. Not a musical sound breaks upon the silence of the night but it catches by imitation, and repeats with a degree of facility which nature only, under nature's God, can inspire. While the latter, which cooes in plaintive numbers, seems to enkindle compassion in the feeling breast, and to awaken the soul to sympathy by an involuntary impulse.

Resounding from tree to tree, the intermingled notes which interrupt the silence of a West India night, though not to be compared with those vernal airs which give life to our native woods, are highly pleasing to the contemplative mind. They open the door to a train of solemn reflections, which may be pursued with much advantage by the pensive and thoughtful, as they wander, absorbed in meditation, through these profitable shades. To a stranger just introduced into these islands, every scene is new; and he contemplates with wonder the information of every sense. Novelty never fails to charm; and the beauties of creation, always delightful, now become an inex-

haustible source of pleasure, through almost endless variety and intrinsic worth.

When curiosity, which is natural to the mind of man, has prompted an individual to ascend any of the mountains, which rise in stupendous magnificence and sublimity, the whole scene becomes entirely changed.* The traveller enters the confines of a new mode of being, and creation puts on another form. As he continues to ascend, the climate changes; the birds and insects which hover round him are totally distinct from all he had seen below; even the trees are strangers to his sight; and every thing is completely new.

The birds which occupy these attic regions, seem never to have visited the plains beneath. Different from those of their genus below, the inhabitants of these solitary abodes open their beauties to the sun in a mansion of security, where man can neither admire nor destroy. They are so little known, that they have scarcely obtained any other names than Birds of the Mountains; and the various notes which they occasionally utter, like the variegated appearance which their plumage exhibits, are such as have rarely made any impression on the human ear. The oldest inhabitants of Jamaica are strangers to the summits of the mountains; their animal and vegetable productions are either contemplated at a distance, or are totally unknown; and little doubt can be entertained, that many creatures endued with animal life now inhabit the almost inaccessible parts, which are as distinct from those below, as they are from one another. Every step in ascent discovers something new; many

* Though the topmost stones of many of these mountains were never visited by man, their sides have been ascended to a considerable height; and in these parts all nature puts on the aspect which is above described. And could their summits be fully explored, no doubt can be entertained, that a scene entirely new would open itself in these elevated abodes. For as the appearances of things, so far as the mountains have been examined, are totally different from those which are found at their bases; so it is reasonable to conclude, that a higher region would open another prospect, as diversified proportionally in all its parts, and as distinct from those below, as those below are different from one another.

Every nook of ground on which the ascending traveller treads appears completely new, and seems never before to have been trodden by the foot of man. Both rocks and trees are perfectly different from all below, and are entire strangers to the human eye. Many of the trees appear to be coeval with the deluge: the hoar of age is visible in their ancient boughs. The canker of time seems to have laid an embargo on the progress of nature, to have arrested her in her proceedings, and to have spread a something analogous to rust over all her works. The clouds roll beneath the traveller's feet; diminutive prospects disappear; the ocean encircles him at a distance, and laves the margin of the island with his "world of waves." The spectator gazes with astonishment on the views which surround him; and he can scarcely disbelieve the evidence of his senses, which tell him that he has entered another world.

parts are yet unexplored; and analogy, founded upon past experience, tells us, that both birds and beasts inhabit the mountains of Jamaica, with which the inhabitants of the island are utterly unacquainted. The peculiarity of their situation secures their retreat, and promises perpetuity to their species, because they are beyond the reach of unfeeling man.

On the plains below, several birds and animals are now to be found, which have been imported from Europe, and from the continental shores; and many which originally inhabited this island have disappeared. There are, however, a multitude of the feathered race still living on the island, of which we have taken no notice, because they have nothing peculiar which can entitle them to the regard of the reader: their names and characters may be found in Sloane and Brown; and to their voluminous writings we refer him. There are, in their collections, several which frequent the seas, and numbers which inhabit only the land. Many are found hovering on the ocean two hundred miles from land: they seem governed by a powerful instinct which we cannot comprehend, through which they know their situation, and find their way to the distant shores. But we must quit this department of animal life, to view it in another form. Our survey of quadrupeds will, however, be short, since many of those which inhabit Jamaica are well known.

The animals in common use for food in Europe, are bred in Jamaica; and in order to secure plenty for the inhabitants, great numbers of horned cattle are imported; so that the markets are well supplied at reasonable prices. With respect to other animals, such as horses, dogs, cats, monkeys, squirrels, goats, &c. they differ but little from those of the same species commonly seen in England; and none of any estimation are peculiar to Jamaica. Many that were once abundant are now become remarkably scarce; and some which were formerly well known are not at present to be found.

The opossum, the racoon, the musk rat, the armadillo, the pecary, and the alco, or native dog of the islands, are nearly now extinct. Like their ancient masters, they have fallen victims to their merciless invaders, and are only to be found in more favourable portions of the globe. A species of the smaller monkey seems to have been overtaken with a similar fate. It was hunted in early days with unremitting avidity, because it was regarded with unreasonable detestation; and the destruction of the little animal seems to have been the only reward which the cruel hunter expected to recompense his toil.

In the extirpation of these animals, as well as in that of the flamingo, we see cruelty, without the plea of avarice to support

ts pretensions. And it appears as if man naturally delighted in the groans which his barbarities extort from those creatures which he destroys in sport. When the pangs of suffering nature can yield pleasure, in cases where neither conveniency nor advantage can justify the action which extorts the groan, it places the disposition of the mind in a light which we cannot contemplate without sorrow. It proves, that the soul by nature is the very reverse of that infinitely good Being in whose image it was originally created; and we learn, from the action itself, how far man is unhappily degenerated from Him whose tender mercies are over all his works.

The Agouti, which seems to be a species peculiar to itself, and occupies a middle station between the rabbit and the rat, has, however, survived the general carnage which has destroyed both man and beast. These animals are still frequently met with in the larger Leeward Islands. In Porto Rico, Cuba, and Hispaniola, they are abundant; but in Jamaica they are only discovered in the mountainous and unfrequented parts. In most of the Windward and smaller islands, the race is nearly, if not altogether, exterminated; and perhaps the period is not remote, when we may inquire in vain for the agouti in some of those islands in which it is now found. And probably the principal reason why the race is still in existence in the larger islands, is, that they have a more extensive tract, in which they find shelter and protection, without being exposed to those imminent dangers which await them in the Windward Isles.

Of the animals which are extinct, or nearly so, a short description must suffice. The Pecary, which once abounded in all the islands, is a species of the hog, and may still be found in the territories of Mexico. It is brought from the continent as an object of curiosity. The bristles of this animal are of a bluish cast, and their extremities are tipped with white. On this account the appearance is singular, and rarely fails to attract the notice of the spectator. In addition to this, the pecary possesses no inconsiderable share of courage. When pursued by its enemies, it attacks the assailants, and not unfrequently obliges them to retire. From an aperture which nature has provided, a musky secretion is regularly discharged, but more particularly so when it is heated by excessive action. It is from this circumstance that these creatures have obtained the name of the Musk Hog; and as they abound in Mexico, they have acquired the general appellation of Mexican Musk Hog.

"The Opossum (says Browne) is a native of North America, and is frequently brought to Jamaica by the sailors. Nature has furnished the female with a very curious lodge between the in-

tegument of the abdomen, to carry and preserve its young from danger." In this circumstance it resembles the kangaroo of New Holland, and the wild cat mentioned by Bougainville in his voyage round the world.

The Racoon was once abundant in Jamaica, though, as Browne observes, it was originally imported from Cuba; on which account it was denominated the Spanish Racoon. Its retreat was in hollow trees, and the sugar-cane supplied it with food. Two objects conspired to its destruction, and ultimately terminated in its final extinction. As a destroyer of the sugar-canes, it was considered as a vermin, and was watched and pursued with the utmost eagerness, to prevent the mischiefs which were the consequences of its depredations. As an animal, it was regarded as excellent food, and was eaten by all ranks of people, but particularly by the negroes. These were unfortunate circumstances for the racoon; and it requires no penetration to account for its extermination. In many respects it resembled the rabbit. Its eyes, lips, and teeth, were much the same as those of the rabbit; but its ears were shorter and much smaller. Its hair was rather coarse and rough. The vegetables on which it fed were occasionally held to its mouth by the fore-paw. There was another species, about the size of a hare, and in this consisted its chief difference from the former; but both sorts are now nearly extinct.

The Musk Rat bore a striking resemblance to our common rat, but differed considerably in size. In this it resembled the hare; but the tail was long, and it had in appearance all the features of the former animal. Its only defence was that of secrecy. Instead of ascending trees, or seeking the interstices of rocks, it burrowed in the earth, to elude the vigilance of its pursuers. The musky smell, however, which it constantly emitted, soon betrayed its retreat, and rendered it an easy prey. When taken from its concealment, it was unable to make any resistance; it fell into the hands of unrelenting man, and yielded submissively to its fate.

The Armadillo, which has in shape some resemblance to our hedge-hog, is also nearly extinct in this island. Like the hedge-hog, it has the faculty of rolling itself up in a circular form in times of danger; but instead of presenting those natural spears with which the hedge-hog is provided, it retires within a jointed shell, somewhat resembling the hinder part of a lobster, and by this means places itself in a state of native security, unless attacked by some formidable assailant. It, however, holds its rank among the quadruped race, and has been esteemed most excellent food. On this account it was hunted with eagerness; and the delicious flavour which its flesh afforded contributed to

hasten its extermination. When these islands were first discovered by the Europeans, this animal was found in abundance. The Windward and Leeward Islands were alike its habitations, and it seemed to find a home in every shade.

The Alco was a particular favourite of the native Indians, and it appears to be the only domestic animal which they had. It was caressed by them with remarkable fondness; it was carried occasionally in their arms, and even cherished in their bosoms. Of its rank in the brute creation we may observe, that it was the native dog of the western world. In appearance, its head somewhat resembled that of a fox; but, remarkable as it may seem, it had not the power of barking. Curiosity was, however, but a partial reason why the alco was fondled. The Indians occasionally fed upon it, and therefore it was fattened with the utmost attention; and its flesh was esteemed by them as the greatest dainty that the substance of animals could supply.

But though these creatures of which we have just spoken are now extinct, or almost so, in this island, many have been imported to supply their places. The fox has been brought from Guinea, and the goat from the Moscheto Shore. The camel has been imported from the eastern continent, and different species of domestic animals from various portions of the globe. Horned cattle appear to thrive best; that the climate is not hostile to their natures, may be inferred from their great increase, and the little degeneracy which the species undergoes.

Sheep have been uniformly bred in the island ever since the time of the Spaniards. The climate seems congenial to their natures, because they multiply fast. But though they augment in number, they degenerate in size. Their wool also loses its natural quality, and in passing through two or three generations, changes into hair; and the exterior of the sheep puts on the perfect appearance of the goat. Thus Providence adapts the clothing of animals to the various climates which they inhabit. The fleece which covers these valuable creatures in colder countries, would not only be useless, but an insupportable burden, in the torrid zone; hair, therefore, becomes an excellent substitute. But such is the tenderness of their frames, that their covering in the West Indies would be insufficient to shield them from the inclemencies of a northern winter, and on that account the fleece is kindly bestowed.

There is a species of Monkey in Jamaica, which has no more than four fingers on each of its fore-paws. It is rather large, and remarkably active: its tail, which is long, is particularly serviceable in its various exploits, and is made subservient to most of its actions. "The creature holds every thing by it (says

Browne), and slings itself with the greatest ease from every tree and post by its means." It does not appear to have been a native of Jamaica, but was originally imported into the island from the western main, of which country it constituted one branch of the food of the Indians.

It is, indeed, from the western continent that many of the most valuable productions of Jamaica have been procured. Among the vast variety which it presents to our observation, both in animal and vegetable life, the majority has been imported; though most of those which were once exotics are now naturalized to the country which they inhabit. Plants and trees, insects and animals, have participated in those revolutions which the West India Islands have undergone: the mountainous parts, which are inaccessible to the invaders, are the only portions which present us with a view of the primitive state of things. Without doubt, the introduction of European arts has considerably improved the surface of the land; and many advantages have been both conferred and derived, which in ancient days were totally unknown.

But whatever alterations may have taken place among the vegetable and animal tribes, the productions of the waters are placed beyond the reach of change. Many of the finny inhabitants are of an equivocal nature; and from their being of the amphibious kind, they have been variously arranged. Others, from the peculiarity of their form, have been differently described, and occasionally placed among those animals which are peculiar to the land. Of this the Manati, or Sea Cow, described by Sloane, is a remarkable instance. Though an inhabitant of the waves, he has placed it among the land animals, from its great affinity to them, and has given it a place among the quadrupeds of Jamaica in the following words: "This is sometimes taken in the quieter bays of the islands, though rarely now-a-days. They have formerly been frequent, but are, by the multitude of people and hunters catching them, destroyed. They are caught by the Indians, who are reckoned the best hunters, knowing the haunts and customs of their game, and being very dexterous at it, especially those of the Mosquitos, or Costa Rica. They lie towards the surface of the water in rivers and bays, have two fins like arms, and are struck with arrows having cords fastened to them with a buoy at their ends. They are so large as to require a pair of oxen in a cart to carry them; they are the best fish in the world, and appear like beef or veal. Their cured flesh keeps long without corruption, is brought from Espanola to Spain, and is like to English beef in sight, and to tunny-fish in taste. Manatis feed on grass growing under water. It is fourteen or fifteen feet long; is called, from

its fins, Manati; the skin makes shoes. The tail is cut into pieces, and put in the sun for four or five days; it appears to be nothing but a nerve; but after the moisture is dried away, they put it into a pan, and, frying it, it turns to butter mostly, which is very proper, never turning rancid though kept very long, and being good to fry eggs in, for lamps, and medicines: it has two young ones, and two dugs. There was a fishing of them in Jamaica and Cuba. What is said of the fishing of them with the remora, or reverso, by the Indians, by training them up to it, is fabulous, though they will stick to such fish as these are.*

"This fish yields store of sweet mantega, or lard; is a thousand or fifteen hundred weight; gives two stones in the head, over the eyes, near the brains, which cures the stone in an hour. Purchas saw one voided as big as an almond. Purchas also observes, that it feeds on an herb that groweth by the borders and within the rivers."

Of the animal tribes, we must now take our leave. We have seen enough to convince us, that the widely extended regions of the globe were destined, by the infinitely wise Creator, to hold an intercourse with one another, that a mutual interchange of their various productions might reciprocally take place. The redundancy of one portion seems admirably calculated to supply the deficiency of another. Islands are beneficial to continents, and continents to islands; and we learn, from contemplating the animal and vegetable kingdoms, that God has made nothing in vain.

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* Though Sloane, as quoted above, vol. ii. p. 330, says, that the account given of the remora, or reverso, is fabulous, Mr. Edwards has asserted it as a fact, and he quotes Oviedo in support of the assertion. Citing from Oviedo, he observes, that the remora is employed as falconers employ hawks. The remora is not more than a span in length; it is carried out at sea of a calm morning, and is fastened to the canoe by a small but strong line. The instant that a fish is perceived under water, the remora darts away with the swiftness of an arrow, and immediately fastens upon its prey. The line, with a buoy at its extremity, is then thrown overboard; and as it floats upon the surface, it is pursued by the canoe, till the fish on which the remora is fixed is exhausted with swimming, when, by the assistance of the line, both are drawn up together. "By this method (adds Oviedo) I have known a turtle caught, of a bulk and weight which no single man could support."

Mr. Edwards then gives some account of the Manati, one of which he saw taken. It is a sort of amphibious creature, neither quadruped nor fish. It has two legs, and is covered with hair; it suckles its young; and from a supposed resemblance in the head, it has been named by the British seamen, the Sea Cow. Its flesh, which tastes somewhat like pork, is thought to be very good, both fresh and salted. Mr. Edwards also concurs with Sloane in this, that it feeds on grass which grows at the bottom of the sea. Acosta, a Roman Catholic, admits the excellency of the food, "but being doubtful whether it was flesh or fish, felt some scruples in eating it on Friday."

Of the numerous plants and trees common to all the islands, very few are exclusively natives of Jamaica. The following are the most worthy of notice, from their great utility.

The Bermudas Cedar, a native tree, grows very plentifully on most of the Blue Mountains, where it is frequently cut down for planks and other convenient uses. It is good timber-wood, and admired for its smell, lightness, and close even grain. It is fit for wainscoting, and all the inward parts of cabinet work.

The Papaw Tree grows wild in many parts of Jamaica, and is easily propagated by seeds and layers. There are two species, the male and the female. On the former, the flowers are pretty large, and grow in clusters among the leaves. The seeds are round and rugged, about the size of black pepper, and always enveloped in a soft gelatinous substance within the fruit: they have a sharp biting taste, and are given to children troubled with worms as a certain remedy. The fruit, when ripe, has a pleasant sweet taste, and is much liked by many people; but while young, it is commonly used for sauce; and when boiled, and mixed with lime-juice and sugar, is not unlike or much inferior to real apple-water, or very small sweet cider. It is remarkable, that water impregnated with the milky juice of this tree, renders meat tender, when washed with it; but if it be left steeped in it for ten minutes, it becomes so soft, that it will drop in pieces from the spit before it is roasted, or fall apart like rags in the boiling.

The Cocoa Nut Tree is plentifully cultivated in most of the warm climates of the western world. Its fruit is well known in England, and therefore requires no description. The tree which produces this nectareous fruit rises to a considerable height, and is very plentiful in Jamaica. Both beauty and utility ensure its cultivation; and as it thrives well in the torrid zone, there is no probability that the species will ever be lost. The fibrous parts of the husks in which the nut grows, are converted, in some parts of the East Indies, into various sorts of cordage, for which they seem admirably adapted; though in Jamaica they have rarely been applied to any valuable purpose. The leaves of the cocoa nut tree are occasionally used for thatch; and the tender shoots, when boiled, are an excellent substitute for cabbage. The timber is applied to various purposes. The juices obtained by tapping the tree, when they are mixed and fermented with molasses, yield a pleasant and wholesome spirit, which bears a great resemblance to arrack.

The mountains of Jamaica abound with copper ore of various species; and two mines were worked for some time in the

Liguanea Mountains; but neither of them produced sufficient to pay the expenses attending the labour and process of the manufacture. Mr. Long, however, gives it as his opinion, that it is much to be regretted that the copper and lead mines in this island had not been more effectually prosecuted; because, upon the computation that every sugar estate which produces one hundred hogsheads a year, must be at a certain expense of £65 per annum for copper and lead alone, it will appear, that the island expends £45,000, or thereabouts, every year in these articles; which might be saved. The former failure in working the copper mines was owing to their being undertaken by two private gentlemen, whose fortunes were inadequate to the enterprise: it ought to be a public work, at the expense of the collective body of planters, regulated by an act of the legislature.

In the bed of the river called the Rio Minho, in Clarendon parish, bits of gold have sometimes been found after floods. On this subject a memorable anecdote is preserved in Long's history of Mr. Beckford, so well known in England as an alderman and lord mayor of London: "When he was at his estate in this island, situated on the banks of that river, the manager one day brought him a piece of fine gold, which had been picked up in the sand of the river; and, at the same time, advised him to send for a skilful metallurgist, who would probably discover a rich mine within his own land thereabouts. To this proposal Mr. Beckford made no other reply than this—"Whilst we have got so profitable a mine above ground (pointing to his cane pieces) we will not trouble ourselves about hunting for any under ground."

Of minerals, fossils, and shells, the accounts are but imperfect and unimportant, independently of the baths and mineral springs already noticed in the respective parishes where they are found; here therefore our sketch of the natural history of the island is brought to a conclusion.

CHAP. XII.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Establishment of the Protestant Religion in the island of Jamaica, under the government of Oliver Cromwell—of the Church of England, during the reign of Charles II.—attempts to restore Popery by James II.—prevented by the glorious Revolution which placed William III. on the throne of England—state of religion in the island from that period to the reign of Geo. II.—Settlement of the Moravians in 1732*—account of their ministry.*

THAT extraordinary revolution which subverted the ancient monarchical constitution of England, at the same time overturned the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the established church, and substituted in its stead the Presbyterian system, which does not admit of episcopacy, or any other dignified orders or distinctions among the priesthood.

Presbyters, or elders, from whom this party has been commonly denominated Presbyterians, are, in general, the seniors, or principal laymen, of each separate congregation or communion. These manage the temporal affairs of their respective churches jointly with the pastor, who is of course an elder; and elect, with the unanimous concurrence of all the other members, or the majority, being the heads of families, the presiding minister, called the Pastor, and also an assistant, if either the extent of the duty, or the age or infirmities of the pastor, render such an appointment necessary.

In a way similar to these regulations at home, Cromwell, after the surrender of Jamaica to the English government, sent over seven ministers, as the sole religious establishment for the whole island; and in this state the spiritual concerns of the first English settlers remained during his administration.

The restoration of Charles II. was immediately followed by a revival of the old civil and religious establishments in the British colonies; in which the external forms of religion, as well as the laws, were assimilated as nearly as possible to those of the mother country. Consequently, though the established church of England gained the ascendancy, and the parochial clergy of the island of Jamaica were subjected to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London, who claimed it as an appen-

dage to his diocese, yet a free toleration, not only of the Roman Catholics, but of different denominations of Protestant Dissenters, was specially enjoined by the king in his instructions to the governors.

But the propensity to Popery which discovered itself in that monarch's reign, and the open encouragement given to it when James II. came to the throne, rendered it absolutely necessary to make restraints by acts of parliament. The island itself was endangered during that short period by the intrigues of the foreign Papists, and the countenance of the Roman Pontiff, under the hopes, then entertained, of a general restoration of the Romish faith and ecclesiastical government throughout the British dominions. This was providentially prevented by the glorious Revolution, and by the constitution settled by the bill of rights signed by William and Mary, on their joint acceptance of the crown. Hereby the enjoyment of the civil and religious liberty of the people was firmly and permanently secured; and all fear of the perversion of the kingdom to the superstition, and to the persecuting principles, of the church of Rome, was totally removed. It was, however, judged consistent with sound policy, for the reasons above mentioned, to prevent professed Papists holding any office or place of trust under the government of Jamaica, by obliging all persons aspiring to enjoy them, to take the customary oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which, according to the tenets of their religion, the Roman Catholics of those days could not. But men of all persuasions are freely admitted as inhabitants, only foreigners are required to take the oath of allegiance.

The bishop of London has at present no jurisdiction, except so far as relates to the conduct of the clergy and their ordination; his authority in spiritual concerns in all other respects having been annulled by an act of the legislature of the island. Even in this department he can only send them letters of admonition, caution, or reproof; but it is not in his power to deprive them of their benefices, or to remove them from their cures, whatever immorality may mark their lives. The governor of the island for the time being, personating his majesty, is considered as supreme head of the church; and the right to exercise ecclesiastical dominion constitutes a branch of his prerogative. It is from him that the clergy derive their parochial authority; by him they must be inducted into their respective rectories and livings; and to him they must be accountable for their neglect of duty, and for any irregularity which may disgrace their conduct and degrade their profession. A previous qualification, however, is necessary, before a candidate can be accepted by the governor. He must bring with him testimo-

nials of his having been regularly ordained according to the canons of the church of England. These being examined and approved by the governor, his letters of ordination are registered in the secretary's office; but nothing further is required in point of law.

The provision which is here made for the support of the clergy, varies considerably from that of the establishment in the mother country. Tythe laws are unknown; so that the complaints which arise from individual oppression, where tythes are enforced by law, have here no ground for existence. Instead of these, the sums which are appropriated to the uses of the clergy, are established by an act of the legislature, so as not to admit of an augmentation or diminution, except by a new law. These sums are levied by the magistrates, in conjunction with the parish vestries, by whom the fees are also regulated for baptisms, marriages, churching, and burials. These fees become the property of the officiating clergymen, whose established salaries vary through the island, from £100 to £300 per annum, in proportion to the various duties which are supposed to be performed. To these sums have been added £50 per annum, as a remuneration for some losses which the incumbents have sustained in their perquisites, since the burial of the dead within the churches has been prohibited by law. To stimulate them to the discharge of their duties, and to urge them to adorn their profession by the purity of their lives, the laws of Jamaica have wisely decreed, that no minister shall enjoy the emoluments of his office, or the salary annexed thereto, any longer than he discharges in person the sacred trust reposed in him, unless prevented by sickness, or compelled to remove to some distant part for the recovery of his health. This humane exception is, however, too frequently made a cloak to conceal those deformities which the law was designed to prevent. For though the governor has it in his power, on the complaint of the parishioners, to suspend any clergyman in the island for dissolute behaviour, yet the pretext of ill health is generally admitted, and a dispensation is granted. The clergyman then retires as soon as a curate is procured to officiate in his absence, and but little solicitude is manifested for his return. In no part of the island are pluralities allowed. The only circumstance which looks like an exception, is, that the minister of Spanish Town acts also as chaplain to the governor.

In addition to the salaries and fees of office of which we have already spoken, glebe lands of considerable value are annexed to some livings; and a dwelling-house must be provided for each clergyman. In those parishes where no parsonage houses have been erected, the magistrates are obliged to erect one at a

sum which shall not exceed £500, or to hire one at a rent not above £50 per annum. But in cases where neither of these can be done, the stated rent must be paid to the minister, in money, that he may provide for his own residence. From these circumstances and summary statements, it must evidently appear that the clergymen have an ample provision made for their support throughout the island. Nothing seems wanting to render their accommodations comfortable, even where the emoluments are the least, unless through their pride, immorality, or moroseness, they have made enemies of those who would otherwise have been their friends.*

Of the character of the clergy in Jamaica, Mr. Long observes, that "he shall say but little;" and the author of this history chooses to follow his example. Ample room has, however, been left for more pious and zealous labourers in the vineyard of Christ, to use their best endeavours to preach the gospel with energy to the white inhabitants, and to the free people of colour. All these having been baptized in their infancy, have been educated as professed Christians, but have not, in general, shewn in their lives and conversations, that they had a lively sense of the duties enjoined them by the sacred precepts of the pure and undefiled religion of Jesus. And as for the poor negro slaves, most of the clergy of the island have taken part with those selfish and prejudiced men, who on all occasions have exerted their influence to prevent their conversion to Christianity. They have falsely imagined that it would render them worse servants, by inspiring them with higher notions of themselves than it was prudent for them to entertain, and consequently with a spirit of independence. Whereas the very reverse has been experienced; for the converted negroes, it is now allowed by all the candid proprietors of slaves, are more dutiful, and more contented with their humble situation, than those who still adhere to the barbarous superstitions of pagan idolatry.

To the missionaries belonging to the church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, from Moravia in Germany, from which country they first emigrated, many heathen nations in different parts of the world, and particularly the negroes employed in the cultivation of the lands in the British colonies, have been indebted for the first knowledge and prac-

* In this island no legal marriage can take place, unless the banns of the respective parties have been published three times in the parishes to which they belong, or unless a special licence for that purpose be obtained from the governor.

tice of Christianity. A society of these Brethren settled in Jamaica about the year 1732, and have continued their benevolent labours to this day, though not with that success which their endeavours have been crowned with in other islands. Many of the negro slaves, notwithstanding, have been instructed by their missionaries, and several truly converted to God; who have forsaken the habitual vices to which they were addicted before their conversion, and have led exemplary lives, conformable to the doctrines of the gospel of our blessed Redeemer.

A just tribute of praise, under the grace of God, to these Moravians, our truly Christian brethren, cannot but be acceptable to all evangelical believers; and it has been given to the public in such candid and liberal terms by the Rev. Melville Horne, late chaplain to the British settlement at Sierra Leone in Africa, and now vicar of the new church in the town of Macclesfield, that no apology can be required for inserting the following account of them, from his excellent letters on missions, addressed to the Protestant ministers of the British churches.

"The Moravian Brethren have been, among us, what the Jesuit missionaries were in the Roman church. They have laboured, and suffered, and effected more than all of us. Their motives have been pure; the missionaries unblameable; their self-denial, courage, hardihood, and perseverance, admirable; and their success such as to give general encouragement. They have never provoked persecution among the heathens, nor incurred reproach among Europeans, by a secular, sordid, turbulent spirit. Their success cannot be referred to the learning of their ministers, the richness of their funds, or the names and influence of great patrons. The case was far otherwise: in all those respects they have lain under heavy discouragements. We must then account for their success upon other principles; and they are, I think, very obvious. Their missionaries have been men of ardent piety. The brethren had it not in their power to hold out any improper inducement to them. They are all of them volunteers; for it is an inviolable maxim with the Moravians, to persuade no man to engage in missions. They seldom make an attempt where there are not half a dozen of them in the mission. They live together in one family, and, where they find it necessary, labour with their own hands. Hence their missions are less expensive than those of any other people; they can engage in more missions than they would otherwise be able to support. Their missionaries are entirely of one mind, as to the doctrines they teach, their mode of inculcating them, and the discipline they exercise over their flocks. Their habits are congenial; and they have been

accustomed for a course of years to give scrupulous attention to every rule of their church. Few cases can occur to produce diversity of judgments among them. They live together with the regularity of a monastic institution; and the frequent stated returns of devotional exercises, keep up the spirit of piety. They have each of them their proper departments in the family; and occupied as they are with study, private and public devotion, preaching, and the various duties of the pastoral care, they have no time to be idle. If any of their missionaries are carried off by sickness or casualty, men of the same stamp are ready to supply their place. Thus mutually supporting and inspiring one another, they are sheltered from those tempests, which discharge their fury on a few solitary beings, badly united together, and placed in circumstances where the zeal and abilities of an individual, however great, can effect little."

A character at once so genuine, and so disinterested, requires no comment. We have no remark to make which can sully so fair a picture; and, in point of general description, there is nothing which we can supply. And though the endeavours of these servants of the most high God have not been attended in Jamaica with that success which, according to human estimation and wishes, might be expected, yet no argument can be gathered from hence against the utility of their actions, or against the piety of their designs.

The generous exertions of the Moravian brethren have been extended through every quarter of the globe; and their pious labours may be a seed-time to some future harvest. Through their lives and doctrines they may be preparing the way, among the most benighted nations of the earth, for that happy period when a nation shall be born in a day, and when all shall know the Lord, from the least unto the greatest. We should therefore reproach ourselves with a want of candour, were we to estimate the real usefulness of this people, by the apparent successes which have crowned their labours. They have laid themselves out for God, and their reward awaits them beyond the grave.

At the close of the year 1792, the Moravian brethren, scattered over different portions of the globe in the work of the ministry, amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven, including some women who had accompanied their husbands to the extremities of the earth. Of this number, fifty-five, of whom the women made a part, were stationed in different islands of the West Indies; and of these, three men and their wives had taken up their residence in Jamaica, the island which we now have under consideration. The author himself made them a visit at

their settlement in the parish of St. Elizabeth, in the year 1793.

Of their successes in this island, their reports are exceedingly brief, and far from being gratifying to their desires and their hopes. In their periodical account published in 1790, they have only this short article: "In Jamaica, all our missionaries were well last May. Brother Christian Zander, in Mesopotamia, departed this life the 18th of May. In the first quarter of the year, seven negroes were baptized on the Bogue estate."

In their third number, published in 1791, they say, "In Jamaica, a violent hurricane raged on the first of September, by which the chapel in Mesopotamia was unroofed; but in Carmel no damage has been done. All our brethren and sisters in both places are well, but lament the slow progress of the gospel in that island.

In page 83 of the succeeding number, they observe, "In Jamaica, the progress of our mission is but slow; yet several of the heathen have received the gospel, turned to the Lord with their whole hearts, and been added by baptism to the church of Christ." This account is dated May 23, 1791.

In page 120, they adopt the same complaint: "In this island the progress of the gospel is but slow. The disturbances they had upon the neighbouring island of St. Domingo have not affected the state of the negroes in Jamaica, as was apprehended."

In page 165 they remark, "In Jamaica there appears at present but little fruit attending the preaching of the gospel; and the missionaries call upon all their brethren every where to unite their prayers unto the Lord for a renewal of his gracious work in the hearts of those negroes already baptized, and for a new awakening among the heathen."

And, finally, they inform us in the tenth number, page 210, "In Jamaica our brethren complain that the progress of the gospel is very slow.—They have lately been invited to preach on an estate called Peru."

Such was the situation of the Moravian missions in the year 1794. We may learn from these periodical reports, that though Paul may plant and Apollos water, it is only God that can give the increase. Nothing but the efficacy of divine grace can soften the obdurate heart;—of ourselves we can do nothing;—and all our sufficiency is of God. Though at the same time we know that this grace is offered to all; and the soul which yields to its operations—which thus comes to Christ—shall in no wise be cast out.

When piety and talents are exercised in the service of God, and exertion is not crowned with prosperity, we feel ourselves

lost in that ocean of immensity—the unsearchable ways and incomprehensible providence of God. But we are also fully assured, that he will treat the heathen world with the most perfect equity—that he will estimate the conduct of mankind only according to the talents respectively afforded them, and will not expect to reap where he has not sown. In the midst, therefore, of discouragements, we may learn, that it is our duty to trust God where we cannot trace him,—to follow our blessed Lord through evil and through good report,—to live in the discharge of our duty, and to leave events to him. Though the labours of these pious missionaries afford us a gloomy prospect in Jamaica, the scenes are more enlivening in other islands. These also will appear before us, when we take our leave of this island, after having surveyed that extensive work which God has been pleased to carry on by the instrumentality of other means. At present we must bid adieu to the Moravian Brethren, and turn our thoughts to the success of those missions which have been established and carried on by the late Reverend John Wesley, and by the Society late in connexion with him.*

* The Baptists have had societies among the negroes in Jamaica for near twenty years, and much good has arisen therefrom. Their success in that island, in the conversion of souls, has far exceeded that of the Moravian Brethren. But for want of documents the author is not able to enlarge upon this subject. He will only add, that in the course of his three visits to Jamaica, he was so far acquainted with their proceedings, that he is confident they have been truly useful to hundreds of the negroes.

CHAP. XIII.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Remarks on the zeal, piety, and usefulness of the Reverend John Wesley—the author's union with him, and first arrival in the island of Jamaica—his report on the state of religion, and advice to Mr. Wesley to send over missionaries to preach the gospel to the negroes—establishment of the Methodists in the island—rapid success of the mission—account of the founding of a Methodist Chapel in Kingston—description and engraved view of that chapel.

THE venerable name of John Wesley is well known throughout the united kingdom, and the doctrines which he taught have been frequently investigated both by his friends and foes. The zeal and activity of Mr. Wesley exposed him to the scoffs of infidelity, and brought upon him the charge of enthusiasm from those characters who profess Christianity, but who know not God. Even by his enemies his name is more or less reverenced, but to his friends it is endeared; and it will descend unsullied to posterity, and be held in grateful remembrance so long as it shall be deemed a virtue to have been beneficial to mankind.

The holy ardour which prompted him to energy among his countrymen, urged him to cross the Atlantic to diffuse the light of the gospel in the Western World. In England and America his name and character are alike known; his zeal found no rival, except in his usefulness; and, divesting our minds both of partiality and prejudice, we dare to rank him among the very first of the public benefactors of mankind.

In the West India Islands he knew there were myriads of his fellow-creatures sitting in the valley and shadow of death; and embraced the first opportunity to enlarge his sphere of action by the means of his missionaries, and to spread those truths through these benighted regions, which had been so happily diffused at home.

It was from the fullest conviction of duty that the author of these pages joined himself to that venerable man; and from entering into his views, and feeling with him a congeniality of soul, that he presumed to co-operate with him in his pious and

vast designs. A work so extensive as to embrace at once Great Britain, Ireland, and America, required much assistance, and sometimes demanded the presence of Mr. Wesley when it could not be obtained. To remedy this inconveniency, his friends were dispatched to different parts, to preach the gospel, to cherish the infant churches, to superintend the different departments of the work which had been so happily begun, and which, from immediate successes, promised a plentiful and lasting harvest.

In the early stages of this important undertaking, which God has so signally owned and blessed, the preachers who acted under the direction of Mr. Wesley were comparatively but few in number. Their successes exceeded their most sanguine expectations; the harvest was great, but the labourers were few. The Lord of the harvest, however, soon raised up a number of pious men, and inclined them to go and preach among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ.

The character of these men, the integrity of their views, the whole deportment of their moral conduct, and the discipline which has been established in the Methodist societies, are open to public inspection. Those who are acquainted with all these particulars, will not refuse the tribute of respect which Mr. Melville Horne has paid to the Moravians; and those who have no such acquaintance with them, are incompetent to pass an opinion.

It was on one of these important errands, that the writer of these sheets embarked for the continent of America, with an earnest hope of being serviceable in that quarter of the globe. But it would be foreign to the design of these volumes to enter into a minute disquisition of the transactions of the continent, though his second voyage to that portion of the globe ultimately led to the general establishment of the gospel in most of those islands which we are about to survey. On these grounds, however, some remarks, made by the author in the course of his voyage, may not only be pleasing but profitable to the reader; especially as they may be considered as remotely connected with the providential origin of that work which God has wrought among the negroes in these isles of the sea.

The author's second voyage to America commenced on Sunday the 24th of September 1786, and his destination was to visit the continent. But it pleased the almighty disposer of all human events to change his course; for after contending at sea against violent storms, the ship sprung a leak, which exposed him and the whole ship's company to imminent danger of foundering. Three missionaries accompanied him, who were in the first instance, with himself, bound for Nova Scotia.

By the 5th of December the danger became so extremely imminent, that a little council was held; when the captain, being convinced of the impossibility of reaching the port of Halifax that winter, resolved to sail with all possible expedition for the West Indies. This resolve he immediately put into execution, and on the 25th of December we landed at St. John's in Antigua. The journal of our proceedings in that island will be found in its proper place, combined with its civil history. The present chapter being restricted to the state of religion in Jamaica, it is to this object that we must confine our views.

The providence of God, which watches every numbered hair, and attends upon all our steps, appears too conspicuous to be overlooked, in the instance which has just been related. Violent and continued tempests, which endangered the lives of all the ship's company, were made subservient to his wise designs. And by these unpromising means we perceive in the event, that God has opened a wide door for the preaching of the gospel, through which multitudes have been already converted, and brought to an acquaintance with that adorable Saviour, whom to know is life eternal.

When we took our departure from England, the author had no design of visiting these insulated regions; but necessity urged us thither, and the call was too imperious to be disobeyed. Thus the most awful dispensations of Providence are but so many parts in the general harmony. They are but the issues of an infinitely wise direction, moving in an enlarged circle, which our understandings, darkened through sin, are not always able to perceive, and but rarely competent fully to comprehend. O that we may always be obedient to the calls of God, whensoever we perceive them clearly! and when they are wrapped in shade, may we seek instruction by applying to the Father of lights!

It was not till the third visit made to America by the author, that he sailed from Tortola for Jamaica, and landed at Port Royal on the 19th of January 1789. Here it must be observed, once for all, that some years before this period, societies of Methodists had been formed in the other islands of the West Indies.* But those who ministered in holy things were few in number, and totally unequal to that extensive work which has since been carried on. A more enlarged plan was

* It is not improbable, that these accounts at first view may appear somewhat confused. To remove any such unfavourable impression, the reader is requested to examine the religious history of Antigua, in which the progress of the missions is traced from its earliest period. The history of that island will solve every problematical expression, and inform him in what manner the gos-

now to be pursued. The openings of Providence had rendered an increase of pious missionaries necessary in all the British islands, that the light of the gospel might be held forth to all the Africans who had been left to perish in the idolatry which they had imported from their native shores. The event has justified the measure; God has blessed the labours of his servants in an especial manner in the conversion of multitudes of the negro slaves;—"a work most assuredly genuine, if there be a genuine work of God upon earth."

In this glorious undertaking the late Mr. Wesley eminently distinguished himself by his zeal and important aid, and by engaging the whole body of his preachers, in Conference, to unite in promoting this great undertaking. By these means the author was supported in carrying on this work of Christian love and compassion, in behalf of a multitude of souls dwelling in darkness and ignorance. Sanctioned by the patronage and direction of that truly evangelical minister of the gospel, in whom he had found a father and a friend; whose memory he will hold in constant veneration to the last hour of his sojourn on earth; and with whom, through the merits of their great Redeemer, he hopes again to be united in glory; he has been enabled, through divine grace, to add perseverance to resolution, and to feel on this side of the grave a full assurance that his labour has not been in vain in the Lord.

At this period the form of godliness was hardly visible in Jamaica; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. The exertions of the Moravian Brethren were quite inadequate to the field which lay open before them. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms; and both whites and blacks were evidently living without hope and without God in the world.

Under such circumstances, that those who knew not God should despise his ordinances, and treat his servants with contempt, it was reasonable to expect. Derision and opposition are the legitimate offspring of that carnal mind which is enmity to the things of God. In every age and every climate human nature is the same. Vice predominates in the unregenerate heart; and he who attempts to stem the prevailing torrent, unavoidably exposes himself to those censures and reproaches which our blessed Lord and Master so explicitly foretold.

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pel has been introduced into almost all the other British colonies in that Archipelago. But the island of Antigua being so much inferior to Jamaica, it would have been a violation of order, in a natural and civil view, to have introduced it first.

The author's stay was but short on the island at this time; but he preached four times in a gentleman's house in Kingston, to small but increasing congregations. The room being too confined, a Roman Catholic gentleman very generously offered him the use of a very large one, which had frequently been employed as a public concert-room. It is hoped, that the following brief account of these early efforts, from the author's journals, may be usefully cited; as it shews the dispositions of the people, and the infant state of the work of God at that era.

The first evening I preached there, the congregation was considerable, and received the word with great decency and great attention. Whilst I was pointing out to the unregenerate the fallaciousness of all their hopes, and the impossibility of reversing the decree, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven," and seriously inquiring of them, whether they had found out some new gospel as their directory, a poor negro-woman cried out, "I am sure you are a new priest." The second evening, the great room and all the piazzas round it were crowded with people. I believe there were four hundred white people present (the largest number of whites I ever preached to in the West Indies), and about two hundred negroes; there being no room, I think, for more. After I had preached about ten minutes, a company of gentlemen, inflamed with liquor, began to be very turbulent; till at last the noise increasing, they cried out, "Down with him, down with him." They then pressed forwards through the crowd in order to seize me, crying out again, "Who seconds that fellow!" On which my new and gallant friend Mr. Bull, whose house was then my residence, stepped forth between the rioters and me, saying, "I second him, against men and devils."

Mr. Bull was supported by a lady* who made one of the congregation. This Christian heroine, notwithstanding the delicacy of her sex, the concourse of people, the confusion which appeared, and the amiableness of her disposition, stood up,

* This lady in her younger years had resided in England, and had been a member of the Methodist Society in London. Through the various vicissitudes of life, she had left her native land, and taken up her residence in Jamaica, in which place her religious impressions had died away. It, however, had pleased God to afflict her with a dangerous illness, and this awakened within her a sensibility of her danger and her loss. She had in this extremity made an application to the throne of grace for mercy, and God had inclined his ear to her supplications, and given to her a manifestation of his pardoning love. Thus from the abundance of the heart the mouth was opened to speak a word for God.

and reasoned boldly with the rioters on the impropriety of their conduct.

Chagrined at the reproofs which had so unexpectedly overtaken them, and ashamed of finding resistance, where they expected to obtain silent approbation, if not support, their activity began to lessen; and shame, the companion of conscious guilt, soon led them to desist from their design. They appeared fully convinced, that instead of asking, "Who seconds the preacher," they had reason to inquire, "Who seconds us?" They seemed satisfied that nine-tenths of the congregation disapproved of their behaviour; in consequence of which, they abandoned their object, and retired. Their language, however, survived their actions. Though evidently ashamed, and apparently conscious that their unpleasant feelings were perceived, they seemed willing to support appearances. Like the school-boy in Blair, who "whistled aloud to bear his courage up," these gentlemen, while they retired from the scene of action, repeated their former vociferation; and nothing but "down with him, down with him," was heard from them while they were descending the stair-case, which they had mounted with so much vigour. Thus God, when we put our confidence in him, in the midst of strangers can raise up friends; he can stop the mouths of lions, suspend the action of fire, and preserve his faithful servants free from harm.

The spirits of the congregation were so discomposed by this unhappy accident, that I gave out a hymn, and then chose another text, and preached to a serious and attentive audience. I was at this time fully convinced, that great good might be done in this island, if the gospel were regularly preached here with power; and forming an estimate from the serious demeanour of the congregation, the attachment to the gospel which was manifested by many, both among the enslaved and free, it appeared evident, that a small society of truly awakened persons, both among the whites and blacks, might be immediately formed in Kingston.

The island itself was too populous to give sanction to neglect, and too wicked to leave us any room to conclude that the inhabitants were in the road to heaven. Between 3 and 400,000 souls, living chiefly without hope, and without God in the world, forbade all supineness; and the attention of many among those who heard, by giving an early promise of a productive harvest, presented an opening which pointed out our path.

In addition to these circumstances, justice obliges me to observe, that no place, either in Europe or America, in which the gospel had not been preached, was ever visited by me,

where so many civilities as I received in Jamaica were conferred on me by the inhabitants. A train of circumstances pointed out our road; our work lay plainly before us; and God, who has promised never to leave or forsake his faithful people, provided for our safety, and supplied our temporal wants. The prospects before us were supported by promises of assistance from many of the respectable inhabitants, and we felt as much reason to exercise gratitude as faith. Four or five families, of some property, opened their houses, and very evidently their hearts also, to me; and assured me, that any missionaries we should in future send to the island, should be welcome to beds, and to every thing their houses afforded.

Thus was the work of God begun in the south of Jamaica. But being called to similar duties on the continent, the author did not return to the West Indies till the close of the year 1790, nor to the island of Jamaica till the 5th of January 1791; when he landed with Mr. Werrill, one of the missionaries, at Montego Bay. The journal of his proceedings is continued in the following narrative:

This town probably contains about 5000 inhabitants. The trees and plantations are so interspersed, as to give it the most rural appearance of any town, I think, I ever saw. But we were without a friend or single acquaintance in the place; and to those who are endued with the tenderest social feelings, this is no insignificant trial: though I do know, in the general, to the glory of the grace of God, that the Lord is a sufficient consolation in every climate and country. We had, however, a strong persuasion that there was work for us to do in this town. We walked about the streets, looking and inquiring; but every door seemed to be closed against us. To preach in the open air, is almost impracticable in this burning clime: besides, the negroes in general are not able to attend till the evening, when the heavy dews would render it in a high degree imprudent and dangerous to preach abroad.

Thus circumstanced, we had some thoughts of quitting Montego Bay, and of repairing immediately to Kingston. A recommendatory letter, which I brought with me from a respectable friend in Cork, to a gentleman of his acquaintance who resided in this part of the island, we found of but little service. We were received by him, it is true, with much politeness, and invited to a most elegant dinner; but we received no assistance that tended to promote our principal design.

While we thus thought of returning to Kingston, an accident, if such it may be termed, laid an embargo upon us, and defeated our resolution. Our boxes were on board the ship in which we had sailed, and could not be delivered for three or

four days. Here then we were confined, at least till our articles were taken from the ship.

While we were dining on the following day at an ordinary, I simply told the company of the business on which we came, and complained of our hard lot, in being deprived of the opportunity of preaching to the inhabitants of the town for want of a place. One of them observed, that the large assembly-room, which was frequently used as a play-house, and had formerly been the church, where divine service was performed on Sundays, would be very commodious. Immediately after dinner we waited on the proprietor of the assembly-room, a private gentleman, whom I shall ever remember with gratitude and esteem. He very generously gave me the use of the room, which has two galleries, and will contain about 5 or 600 people. He also lighted it at his own expense. The first evening I had most of the gentry to hear me, who attended invariably during the remainder of my stay: but hardly any of the coloured people were present; the man whom I sent round the town calling only on the whites. But every evening afterwards the blacks attended, and their numbers increased beyond expectation. Each time the congregation in general heard with deep attention. A few rakes only twice clapped their hands, and cried out, "encore, encore," but were afterwards prevented by the interference of some of the gentlemen.

The last evening I preached there, I had about five hundred hearers; and after as faithful a sermon as I was able to give them, on the necessity of the new-birth, I informed them, that they would soon, I believed, be visited by another of our ministers; at which all seemed satisfied. Having thus, under the divine blessing, opened a little door for the gospel in Montego Bay, I set off with my friend for Kingston on the 10th of January.

In this visit to Montego Bay, like that which first brought me to these islands, the hand of God appears too conspicuous to be overlooked. A violent tempest, and the danger of foundering at sea, prevented us from reaching the continent, the place of our primary destination, and drove us to these shores; and our inability at this time to obtain our boxes from the ship in which we sailed, detained us in Montego Bay, after we had resolved to quit it without speaking in public one word for God.

But that detention, which was unavoidable, gave leisure to promote inquiry; inquiry led to information; and information to application and success. Through these connected circumstances, a door was opened in this part of the island also for the preaching of the gospel, through which many hundreds

had an opportunity of hearing the things which make for their everlasting peace. Even here, as well as at Kingston, the soil appears propitious, and this must bound our estimation. It is our duty to be faithful in action, and to leave events to God.

In our second day's journey we arrived at the foot of a great mountain, called by no other name than Mont Diable (the Devil's Mountain), of which we had received from various persons most dreadful accounts.* The landlord of the tavern at the foot of the mountain told us of dreadful precipices, and of the fall of many travellers down them, who were never after heard of. When we had dined, and rested our weary horses about two hours, we set off by the light of the moon, in order to conquer this tremendous hill, at the earnest request of my companion; though I acknowledge my great imprudence in yielding to him. The precipices far exceeded my expectations, in the awfulness and horror of their appearance. Nor is it at all improbable, that many persons have been lost, through intoxication, or unruly horses. Even my miserable poney wanted much to crop a fine tuft of grass on the very edge of one of them. However, with much labour and patience, and the aid of a gracious Providence, we arrived at a tavern on the other side of the mountain about eleven at night.

On the next day we had the solemn pleasure of riding through a part of the country which contains one of the greatest curiosities in Jamaica, within about 13 miles of Spanish Town. On a sudden, the traveller seems to be perfectly locked up among the hills, without any possibility of going forwards; till, in a moment, a narrow crooked pass between two rocks, hidden from his view till he comes full upon it, opens to him. Between these two vast rocks we rode about a mile or

* This day we rode through the parish of St. Anne, which exhibits a delightful prospect. Though not altogether so picturesque as some of the appearances in St. Vincent's, it is incomparably more magnificent and noble. The elevated mountains on the right, the fluctuating ocean on the left, and the extensive plain between them, opening its bosom and exposing all its beauties to the sun, variegated with rich plantations, and clothed with sugar-canes which waved before the impressive breeze, yielded a grandeur of appearance at once pleasing to the imagination, and delightful to the eye.

We began to ascend the mountains on the 12th. Near the summit of one of them, our senses were regaled with an abundance of orange trees, of that species which in Europe is denominated Seville. We gazed on their beauties as we passed these spicy groves; and the contrasts which diversified the scenery around us, added still more charms to the romantic views.

At the inn where we dined, we met with a poor negro-woman, who had been brought hither from South Carolina. She evidently possessed the fear of God, and seemed to seek for opportunities to wait upon us. We spoke to her of Jesus Christ, and her soul drank in every word concerning religion, with a degree of eagerness that proved she was sincere.

two, with a beautiful purling river on our right. Dover Cliffs, I think, are inferior to these rocks in height. Penmanmaur in North Wales is higher; but the scene has superior advantages here, from the rocks being on each hand, and almost equally high, and perfectly perpendicular.

On our arrival in Spanish Town, I found a strong desire to bear a testimony for Jesus Christ in this benighted place; and for that purpose made various applications for a room to preach in, but in vain; till at last a tavern-keeper told me that his long room was at my service. It was now too late to send notice round the town, so I deferred my attempt till another time. The next morning (January 24th) we set off for Kingston, which is distant thirteen miles from Spanish Town. The whole route from Montego Bay to Kingston is one hundred and twenty-six miles, a very long journey at all times in that burning climate; but especially so then, as the roads were very deep in the plains, owing to the vast quantity of rain which had lately fallen.

Notwithstanding our various trials, the novelty, beauty, and grandeur of the different prospects we met with on the way, and perhaps a peculiar turn of mind for extracting out of these innocent transitory things much of that sweetness which they are capable of yielding, together with the approving smile of Heaven, made the journey very agreeable. But who can count the various beauties of these prolific regions! Abundance and variety strive together for mastery, and alternately appeal to the judgment and the senses. The contemplative mind is overwhelmed with a profusion of bounties. But the power and goodness of God are conspicuous in all!

The following year our chapel in Kingston was completed. It is eighty feet in length, and forty in breadth, and will contain about fifteen hundred persons. It has galleries on three sides, and is built exactly on the plan of our chapel at Halifax in Yorkshire, known to and admired by numbers of our friends in England. Underneath the chapel we have a hall, which is absolutely necessary in this very hot country, four chambers, and a large school-room.

In the year 1792, the author again visited Jamaica. During his absence Mr. Hammett had been appointed missionary to this island. His labours had been chiefly confined to the town of Kingston, but not exclusively; for he had followed the leadings of Providence wherever he found an open door. Through his preaching, many had been benefited, and many offended. The disposition which had vociferated "down with him, down with him," had not yet subsided. On the contrary, it had raged

with greater violence, and persecution had put on a most terrific form.

But notwithstanding these discouragements, Mr. Hammett was not without his friends; his labours had not been in vain; many had received the word with gladness, and knew in whom they had trusted. It was in this intermediate space, between 1789 and 1792, that the chapel was built to which we have alluded: even in this instance divine providence appeared conspicuous; for it was erected in the circle of danger, and rose amid surrounding storms.

The chapel is situated on a very beautiful spot, called the Parade. It commands from the balcony a prospect of part of the town, of the harbour, and of the fields. But the persecution which we have experienced in this place, far, very far exceeds all the persecutions that we have met with in the other islands, unitedly considered.* Mr. Hammett's life was frequently endangered. Mr. Bull, whom I have mentioned in a former page, several times narrowly escaped being stoned to death, particularly one night, when he eluded the vigilance of the rioters by being disguised in a suit of regimentals. Often our most active friends were obliged to guard our chapel, lest the outrageous mob might pull it down to the ground.

The negroes being constantly employed on week-days from sunrise to sunset, either at work or at their meals, it became more particularly necessary to preach in the evenings. This circumstance gave the rioters an opportunity of sheltering themselves under the canopy of night. They availed themselves of the favourable shade, and gave the fullest demonstration by their actions, that they loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. But we forbear to record specific instances of brutality and wickedness, or to mention the names of those "whose sons shall blush their fathers were our foes."

To depart from persecution, was to flee from duty; and to apply for justice, was but another name for sustaining wrong. To abandon the chapel altogether, was to expose it to ruin and demolition; and to persevere in the usual course, was to endanger life. To quit the scene of action, was to give up the contest, and to arm those by whom we were oppressed with that victory for which they had been contending, and which would become a formidable weapon on every future day. Mr. Hammett, however, was obliged to refrain from preaching by

* At this present time (1808) a violent persecution rages in Jamaica. But for this we must refer the reader to our Appendix; as a memorial, stating all the particulars, lies now before his Majesty and his most honourable Privy Council.

candle-light. It was a measure necessary for the occasion; and as wickedness sometimes shrinks from the face of day, it was a means of abating the persecution. At last the rioters rose one night between eleven and twelve o'clock, and broke down the gates of the court leading to the chapel; on which four of the magistrates interfered, through the strong remonstrances of a gentleman of influence in the town, who esteemed us, though he was not of our society. They accordingly published an advertisement, which kept the rioters from that time within tolerable bounds. But the newspapers were full, for several months, of letters for and against us. Many stood up in our defence under feigned signatures, two of whom were masterly writers. Every thing that was bad was said of Mr. Hammett, every name that was disgraceful was given to him. With respect to myself, they published an anecdote of my being tried in England for horse-stealing, and flying to America to escape justice; though few, if any, I believe, credited the report. Some of the rioters were prosecuted; but the jury acquitted them, against the clearest evidence.

On the first evening of my arrival, I ventured to open the chapel again for preaching by candle-light, and had a numerous audience; but some of them were very rude. I thought it, however, most prudent to pass them by unnoticed. Mr. Hammett at this time lay dangerously ill of a fever and ague, and had not been able to preach for near a month;* but Mr. Brazier, our other missionary appointed for the Kingston circuit, having arrived here a few days before me, I took him with me to Spanish Town, leaving Mr. Werrill to take care of our Kingston society. In the evening I appeared in the long-room of the tavern, according to the before-mentioned permission, having previously sent notice round the town. When I entered, I found it nearly filled by the young bucks and bloods (as we used to term the debauchees at Oxford), and not

* Harassed with persecution, opposition, and fatigue, Mr. Hammett was at this time worn down to a mere skeleton, and the restoration of his health appeared extremely doubtful. His enemies had often killed him in report, and had even insinuated that he had been buried by his friends in a clandestine manner. In a private interview which I had with his physician, he gave it as his decided opinion, that all his hopes of recovery depended on his removal to a colder climate; and, therefore, as I was shortly to visit the continent, I determined to take him with me, that no method might be left untried for the restoration of so valuable a life; concluding, if his health returned, that he might revisit Montego Bay, and establish a mission in that town. Mr. Brazier and Mr. Werrill, two of the missionaries, were now in the island; and by them Spanish Town, Kingston, and Port Royal could be well supplied. But, alas! how short-sighted is man! this very step, which was dictated by pure benevolence, ended in the ruin of that great and useful minister.

a single lady was present. Soon afterwards many of the coloured people of both sexes came, and filled the vacant places. During my sermon, the bucks behaved so rudely, that I observed, before I concluded, that if any house-keeper would lend me a hall, I would preach again the next evening; otherwise I should probably be obliged to leave the place.—"Farewell, Sir," said one; "Good luck to you, Sir," said another; and thus they went on till I withdrew. When Mr. Brazier and I consulted together on the subject, we were fully persuaded, from the countenances and behaviour of the coloured people, that the Redeemer's kingdom might be enlarged by preaching the gospel to them; and that we ought not, by any means, to give up the point. Before bed-time, two gentlemen came to me at my lodging, and offered me their halls to preach in; but, alas! when I called on them the next morning, they had been frightened by their friends, and both of them retracted their engagements. We were then determined to move on the true gospel plan, "from the least to the greatest." Accordingly, we hired a poor cheap house (if it may be called by so lofty a name), in the outskirts of the town, of a mulatto, from month to month. Here I preached in the evening, to a considerable number of the people of colour; and, notwithstanding the poverty of the place, some of the bucks attended, and were ruder, if possible, than the night before. During the height of the noise, I felt a spirit which I think I never felt before, at least in the same degree. I believe it was a spark of the proper spirit of martyrdom. At the conclusion, therefore, of a pointed, though short address to the rioters, I told them I was willing, yea, desirous, if the kingdom of Jesus could be promoted thereby, to suffer martyrdom; and my words seemed to have a considerable effect on their minds. I then published myself for the Thursday evening following; and on the succeeding morning, after giving directions about making some wooden candlesticks, to be placed against the wooden walls, we returned to Kingston.

In the evening I had a large congregation, and I believe a considerable number of our enemies were present. My sermon was partly addressed to the Deists, partly to the Socinians, and partly to the Arians. At first they began, according to their custom, to be noisy; but I was happy enough to command their deep attention during at least three-fourths of the discourse. On the next day I returned to Spanish Town, and had a considerable number of the coloured people to hear me in the evening, and some of the bucks, whose attendance I could have spared. After sermon, I plainly told them our full determination of going forward, and of applying for justice to the legal powers of the country, if perseveringly insulted and abused. I also ob-

served, that if no justice was to be found in Jamaica, I was sure of obtaining it completely at home. Early the next morning I preached to an attentive congregation of coloured people, and then enlarged on the nature of Christian discipline. Afterwards, I bought some boards to be made into benches for the preaching-house; and, leaving Mr. Werrill behind me, returned to Kingston; my poor horse falling down with me on the way, out of mere weakness.

On Sunday the 23d, I met the society in Kingston, after morning preaching; and was highly pleased with the testimony which many bore to the glory of the grace of God. The number in society in this town was about one hundred and fifty; in the whole circuit, two hundred and thirty-four; which was an increase of eighty-four since the last accounts I had received before my arrival.

Thus, in the midst of persecution, and encircled with those dangers which have been in part enumerated, the church of God continued to increase; and we may safely conclude, that the converts made, through the divine blessing, in such gloomy and disastrous seasons, gave evident proofs of a genuine work of grace. To what else can we attribute their adherence to the gospel in such calamitous moments? No temptations could allure them, no delusive charms could seduce them. They had nothing in this world to expect, either in promise or possession, from their faithful testimony of Jesus. On the contrary, they had every unfavourable appearance to encounter and oppose. Little less than a constant scene of misfortunes presented itself before them; and it required but a small degree of penetration for any of them to discover, that the sufferings which they contemplated in others were soon to be experienced by themselves.

Yet, notwithstanding they had nothing temporal to hope for, but every thing to fear, the fact is, that the society increased. To what then can we attribute a mode of conduct so diametrically opposite to every principle of worldly prudence? We can only impute it to the efficacy of that grace to which we ascribe our salvation in time, and which we hope to adore through all eternity.

Mr. Hammett had two or three interviews, before his illness, with a young African prince, a son of the king of Mundingo. This was the second visit which the prince had voluntarily made to Jamaica, with the captain of the ship in which he sailed from Africa. He had lost a sister many years before, who, as the family supposed, was stolen away; and to his great surprise he found her in Kingston. She had actually been stolen, and was, when discovered by the prince, a member of

our society, with her husband, who was a free black, a leader of a class, and an exhorter. The prince promised Mr. Hammett that he would send two slaves from home as the purchase of his sister, that she might return to her native country, and bring her husband along with her.*

I now set out for Port Royal, to be ready for the brig in which I had taken a passage for myself and Mr. Hammett to Charles Town, South Carolina; and preached in the evening to a large congregation in the house of Mr. Fishley, the first friend I met with in Jamaica on my former visit. There had been some persecution in this place, many of the outrageous in Kingston having agreed to assassinate Mr. Hammett here; but the magistrates behaved with such spirit and intrepidity, that the persecutors were glad to hide their heads.

The day before we sailed, Mr. Werrill came from Spanish Town to take leave of me, and brought me the reviving tidings, that for the three days he had successively preached there, he had had peaceable and attentive congregations of coloured people, and had begun to form a class of catechumens *among them*.

Before my return home from a fifth voyage to the continent of America, I made my last visit to the island of Jamaica, landing at Port Royal in March 1793. A malignant fever had put a period to the labours and life of Mr. Werrill, who was succeeded by Mr. Fish. With him, and a young exhorter who attended me as a servant, I set off for Montego Bay on the 1st of April, in order to improve the opening which divine Providence had there favoured me with two years before.

After travelling through a champaign country, our views near sunset were uncommonly romantic. The hanging rocks

* That the ways of Heaven in many cases are dark and intricate, will leave no room for doubt; yet we sometimes observe the most astonishing events accomplished by most unlikely means; and we frequently perceive that God brings good out of evil, through that infinite power and wisdom which make every thing subservient to his purposes.

Through villany this African princess was stolen. The theft led to her transportation and slavery. Slavery in a foreign clime brought both her and her husband within the sound of the gospel, which, through divine grace, as far as man can discover, has been made the power of God to the salvation of their souls. Judging, therefore, from what is past, our thoughts may anticipate future scenes; and analogy warrants the inference. The recalling of this woman and her husband to Africa, may possibly be a means of introducing some knowledge of the gospel in those almost unknown regions of the globe. And though Christianity may not take any extensive spread through this medium, yet it may so dispose many among them who are now in heathenish darkness, that when, on some future occasion, God shall be pleased to open a door, their hearts may be softened, and prepared to receive his sacred truths.

and trees formed a most grotesque and awful appearance. All the rocks were white, and so perforated, that they seemed like immense heaps of white moss. About sunset we arrived at a solitary inn in the midst of the mountains, after riding thirty miles in the heat of the day; and made our dinner and supper at one meal. The place was called the Green Ponds. Next morning before sunrise we began to ascend May Hill, a vast, steep mountain, and about eleven o'clock gained the summit, which contained a few square miles of ground. Here we found a tavern, at which we breakfasted; and on inquiring the name of the parish (Elizabeth parish), I recollected that the little handful of Moravian Brethren who reside in this island could not be far distant from me. My landlord confirmed my ideas, and informed me, that we could easily reach the house of Mr. Angel, one of the Brethren, by night. I then recollected that Mr. Angel was brother-in-law of Mr. Joseph Bradford, one of our travelling preachers. When we arrived at Mr. Angel's, it was just dark; but he was from home, and the chief person in his storehouse informed us, that five miles further was the settlement of the Brethren, where we should meet with a hospitable reception. As Mr. Angel's house was a large one, I felt it unkind to be sent five miles through the dews of the night, which very few of the planters through that whole Archipelago would, I believe, have done. However, I hired a guide, who brought us to the place. Mr. Lister and Mr. Bowen, the ministers, together with their wives, received us with the utmost courtesy; and here, indeed, we found ourselves at home. O how comfortable is it, in a country where so little even of the form of religion exists, to meet with pious persons of congenial spirits with ourselves! The kindness and attention of this simple-hearted family made ample amends for our dark and dreary ride. With them we could sweetly speak and sing of the love of Jesus; and our Lord was truly present both in conversation and prayer. After an early breakfast, these loving people conveyed us one stage in their one-horse chair, while the guide whom they had provided brought on our horses. May our common Lord and Saviour reward them!

When we arrived at the end of our stage, we found it necessary to cross a great number of cattle-pens and plantations, and met with no more inns till we reached Montego Bay. We accordingly set off across the country, and arrived about noon on a plantation, of which a Scotch gentleman is the manager. Here we were received with the greatest civility and politeness; but had not long arrived, before the rains poured down like torrents; and we were thankful to divine Providence, and the master of the house, for this comfortable asylum. Next morn-

ing we were favoured with the company of several gentlemen of the island for fifteen miles. One of them, who had an elegant saddle-horse as well as a phaeton, perceived that I was a little fatigued with the heat, and insisted on my travelling in his phaeton most part of the way, while he rode on horseback. Our company, at parting, advised us by all means to stop as soon as possible, and to rest for the remainder of the day, lest too violent exercise might bring on an inflammation of the blood. We accordingly called at the first house we met with; but the master was absent, and we were refused admittance: yet, probably, the proprietor, if at home, would have received us cheerfully; for there are no men that I have ever been acquainted with, more generous and hospitable to strangers than the West India planters. We then retired to some distance from the house, and sat down on the grass to rest ourselves, whilst our horses were cropping the herbage around us. From thence we went to a plantation called the Seven Rivers; where Mr. Price, the manager, whom I found to be my countryman (a Welchman), gave us a hearty welcome. Being now refreshed, we proceeded on our journey, and came to another plantation, called Montpellier, where we abode for the night.

The next morning we set off at day-break, and breakfasted in Montego Bay. Immediately afterwards I called upon my old acquaintance Mr. Brown, the proprietor of the assembly-room, who generously gave me the free use of it again. The next business was, to send a messenger round the town from house to house, to give notice of my preaching in the evening; in consequence of which I had a very considerable congregation. After I had enforced on the audience the great truths of Christianity, a company of rakes, with a printer at their head, kept up a loud clapping of hands for a considerable time. I then withdrew into Mr. Brown's dwelling-house: but my companion* lost me; and, going out of the room into the street, was instantly surrounded by the rakes, who shouted, and swore they would first begin with the servant: on which an officer of the army drew his sword, and, stretching it forth, declared he would run it through the body of any one who dared to touch the young man; on which they all slunk back, and withdrew. The next morning I went to church, and in the afternoon preached to a deeply attentive congregation in the assembly-room, from 1 John v. 12. "He that hath the Son, hath life;" and all was peace.

* Mr. Fish was attacked with such violent head-aches on the journey, that he was obliged to return to Kingston.

Having no engagement for dinner, I went to the ordinary, where a gentleman took me aside into another room. After many apologies, and expressing his great regard for me, he informed me, that a plot was laid, and intended to be put in execution against me at the assembly-room in the evening, and that powder was to be used. He therefore advised me to give up all thoughts of preaching. I thanked him for his well-meant advice, and tender feelings on my account; but observed, that I was in the way of duty; and if my great Master was pleased to take me to himself that evening by the violence of wicked men, or in any other way, I was perfectly satisfied; well knowing, that it was easy for him to raise a far better instrument than I was, for his gracious purposes; and that, through the divine assistance, I should endeavour to preach at the time appointed. The evening came, and a crowded congregation attended. At the beginning of the service, the printer, mentioned above, began to be noisy; on which one of the magistrates of the town, who was present, stepped up to him, and spoke such strong and authoritative words, that both he and his companions thought proper to be silent from that time. After this, several gentlemen of the town treated me with great respect. But, what was of infinitely more importance than civility, politeness, and respect, many of the negroes during my short residence in this place were awakened by my public ministry, and my visits to them in their respective habitations.

The next town that I visited was Martha-Brae, being joined on the road by a captain of a ship from Hull, who proved to be a very agreeable and pious companion. Here we intended only to feed our horses, and to proceed on our journey. But a captain of a London merchant-ship, with several other gentlemen, so ardently entreated me to favour them and the inhabitants of the town with a sermon in the evening, that I complied with their request. The assembly-room was accordingly procured, and a large congregation attended.

I preached on the new birth from John iii. 9. For about twenty minutes a deep silence reigned throughout the audience; when the very captain, who in the first instance had so importunately entreated me to preach, broke out in the following words: "Sir, if what you say be true, we must all be damned: I do not like your doctrine at all!" The rakes instantly took the hint, and from that time there was nothing but confusion. However, I elevated my voice to its highest pitch, and continued my discourse for about twenty minutes longer in the midst of noise and distraction. Several ladies, who sat opposite to me, seemed perfectly attentive during the whole of the service. One of them, who was the first lady in the town, as I was af-

terwards informed, addressed herself, after I had retired, to a young gentleman who had been one of the rioters, in the following manner: "Till this time I always considered you as a decent, virtuous young man; but now I find you are a vagabond; and I forbid you ever to darken my door again."

I now found many friends. Two pious captains from Liverpool waited upon me; one of whom particularly, of the late Mr. Medley's congregation, was, I verily believe, a burning and shining light. He is well known and ridiculed in the north of Jamaica, under the appellation of the Preaching Captain. The captain also from Hull, whom I have mentioned above, offered to take me back to England, gratis; but my avocations would not permit me to accept of his generous offer, especially as he could not return in time for the Methodist Conference.

On retiring to my chamber, a Mr. Kitchen, the mate of a ship, whose wife is a member of our London society, waited on me, and requested me to take a bed in his ship. I immediately accepted of his offer, and lodged that night in his vessel in the bay. But before I left the tavern, I called at the stable to inquire after my horse, and found that he had been removed from his stall, and that his corn and fodder had been stolen from him. I immediately returned into the tavern, and in a circle of gentlemen, who were in a jovial mood, complained of the usage I had received. One of them, a stout young man, about six feet high, instantly came up to me, and, standing by my side, said that he would defend me against the world. On this, he began to swear, and bawl, and roar, till the whole family were in a perfect consternation. My horse was immediately replaced, and fresh corn and fodder procured for him. When this was accomplished, the young gentleman took me aside, and, staggering (for he was very drunk), addressed me as follows: "Sir, I was once a Methodist, of the countess of Huntingdon's connection in Bristol; and had the honour of being for some time a steward of that society. I have now in my custody several letters written with the countess's own hand: these I have shewn to many in this island. But, O Sir, they only laugh at them, and at every thing which is sacred. And though, Sir, I find myself obliged to live and converse as the rest do, or I should become an object of universal contempt and ridicule, yet (says he, beating his breast,) "I have it here, Sir, I have it here: I have faith, Sir, I have faith." Poor young man! thought I; if the great woman, whom you so justly commend, and whose memory will ever be reverenced by the truly pious, were to hear you, she would say, as that eminent minister of God, Mr. George Whitfield, ob-

served on a similar occasion, "I see clearly you are one of my converts, and not a convert of Jesus Christ."

After spending a very comfortable night in the ship, I returned to shore early in the morning of the 9th, and proceeded on my journey. The next day we travelled nearly to the top of Mount Diable, of the precipices and romantic views of which I have spoken in a former page. The following night we lay at Spanish Town, and the next day arrived at our chapel in Kingston. The morning succeeding, I had two or three hours' refreshment in the public ordinances of God with our beloved society in that town. In the afternoon Mr. Fish, with many others of my friends, accompanied me to the packet, in which I sailed for England the next day, and was safely landed at Falmouth on the 6th of June, 1793.

On the 4th of June, early in the morning, as we were entering the mouth of the English Channel, the sailor at the mast-head gave notice of a sail in view. The captain instantly went to the mast-head, and, after remaining there a considerable time, came down, and informed us that we were then certainly chased by a privateer. For twenty-four hours the chase continued, till the privateer was within about a mile and a half of our packet. We had no force sufficient to make any resistance. All was despair among the crew and passengers; till, behold! appeared Lord Hood, with eleven sail of the line, and all their accompaniments, bound for the Mediterranean. Joyfully did we sail into the midst of our friends, while the privateer, pursued by one of our frigates, made the best of her way towards the coast of France. Thus did a most gracious Providence deliver us!

The succeeding accounts of the prosperous state of our society's missionary establishment in different parts of the island, are comprised in letters from several of the preachers to the author; which are subjoined from copies faithfully taken from the originals, and given in regular order according to their dates.

CHAP. XIV.

HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

Progress of the mission—various obstacles which opposed the success of the gospel—account of the persecution in 1802—general state of religion.

THE events and circumstances which have occupied the concluding pages of the preceding chapter, have unavoidably carried our views forward, to a date which, with an eye to general narration, ought not to have been anticipated. The journal of the author led to the adoption of this measure. The period of its commencement pointed out the time for its introduction: and when once begun, it was impossible to suspend its progress, without breaking the thread of his personal observations. But this circumstance has necessarily obliged him to omit several interesting particulars, which are too important in themselves to be altogether neglected, and too closely connected with the subsequent parts of this history to be passed over in total silence. The dates of these events being prior to some which have been inserted, the author is compelled to survey, in retrospection, the transactions to which he adverts, and of which his journals have taken no account.

The removal of Mr. Brazier to the continent, on account of his declining health, and the subsequent death of Mr. Werrill, both of which events happened in the year 1791, placed the societies on the island in a solitary condition. For some time they were left without any missionary, though there was a sufficiency of employment for three or four. Montego Bay at this period held forth an inviting prospect. The seed which had been sown in that place seemed to have taken root; but it wanted to be watered with the dew of heaven, to mature it against the approaching harvest. Kingston was of far too much consequence to be neglected. A missionary was wanted for each place, but there was no one in the island to attend to either.

Such was the situation of the society in the island when Mr. Fish arrived, in 1792. On the whole, he found their affairs in a much better state than his fears had suggested. The number in society amounted to about 170, including those on three or four plantations in the mountains. The violence of per-

secution had also abated; a few solitary stones were, indeed, thrown occasionally at the chapel, but personal interruption seldom happened. No attempt had, however, yet been made to establish preaching by candle-light; so that on the whole, the society rather enjoyed peace than prosperity.

The care of the whole island now devolved on this single missionary, aided by such internal helps as the societies could produce. The town of Kingston more particularly required his attention; the scattered sheep which were on the mountains demanded some assistance, and Port Royal was an object which called for care.

The time and attention of Mr. Fish being wholly engrossed by the necessary attentions to the infant churches in those places, he was under the necessity of abandoning Montego Bay. The distance between this place and Kingston was too great to admit of a division of his labours. His own sentiments of the progress of religion during this period are, that "the gospel was making a gradual progress among the people of colour; but that the white inhabitants were inattentive to its charms."

On the anniversary of that awful calamity which has been already described, the dreadful earthquake of 1692, which swallowed up Port Royal with its inhabitants and wealth, Mr. Fish observes as follows: "The day on which it happened, has been kept as a solemn fast by the appointment of the assembly. In the morning our congregation was small; but that in the evening was one of the largest and most attentive I have ever seen in the island; two young men excepted, who, being unwilling to hear the rod and Him that hath appointed it, went out soon after the text was mentioned." He then concludes the subject with this pointed and appropriate remark—"Should the judgments of the Lord again come upon this island, perhaps even the whites may learn righteousness."

Mr. Fish thus continued his solitary labours till the arrival of another missionary, about the end of July 1794. During this period he enjoyed that peace to which his predecessors had long been strangers, and the work of God prospered much. His endeavours were made a blessing to many; a considerable number was added to the society; and some others were at least so far humanized, that they were broken "from fierce barbarians into men."

Even "returning justice had again lifted aloft her scale." The magistrates had set their faces against riotous behaviour; and applications for redress were not always made in vain. "We obtained," observes Mr. Fish in one of his letters, "a warrant against those who disturbed us at the prayer-meeting; but as the persecutors were very willing to pay costs and

damages, we dropped the prosecution, and have not been disturbed since."

That the labours of Mr. Fish were crowned with some success, we may plainly perceive from the following comparative estimates. On his arrival in 1792, the whole of the societies contained 170 members; but on the arrival of his colleague in July 1794, during which interval he had laboured alone, the number amounted to 280. Here then, by the active exertions of this pious missionary, was an actual increase of 110 members, who gave reason to hope that they were not only united to our society, but also united to God.*

On the arrival of the other missionary at Kingston, Mr. Fish gave up the society to his care, and immediately repaired to Montego Bay, which had been almost wholly neglected from the time it was last visited by the author of these pages in the month of April 1793. On his arrival he immediately waited on the magistrates, and made them acquainted with the design of his coming thither. A short consultation was held between them, and consent was at last given that he should preach. The assembly-room, of which we have already spoken, was again obtained, and service was regularly performed therein during the first six months of his residence in this place. The congregation was by no means contemptible; many of the principal inhabitants attended, and all behaved with becoming decency.

It was on the 6th of June 1795 (a day which ought to be remembered with the deepest humiliation by all the inhabitants of that place), about two o'clock in the afternoon, that a dreadful fire broke out near the centre of the town. The origin of this conflagration was never clearly ascertained: by some it has been ascribed to accident, and by others to design. But, what cause soever might have called it into being, certain it is that it raged with almost unexampled violence; and, in the short space of five hours, laid a great part of the town in ashes. The flames for some time spread only in one direction, and threatened all

* It may be proper to give our readers, once for all, an accurate idea concerning the religious influence of our societies. In the general, the regular congregations are five or six times as large as the societies, and even much larger in proportion on the plantations in the West Indies. In the societies are frequently several local preachers and exhorters, who are constantly employed on Sundays in the ministry of the word. In all the societies there are class-leaders, who have the oversight of a small number, from 12 to 20, of the members. These class-leaders also hold prayer-meetings in different houses in the towns and villages where they reside: and indeed we endeavour, under divine grace, to make even every private member of the society, as the apostle expresses it, "a king and priest unto God and the Father."

before them with impending desolation. But on a sudden, in a manner as unaccountable as their origin, they took an unexpected turn, without any visible cause, and immediately burst out in a contrary way.

The damage which was done by this awful visitation of God, was very considerable; and the confusion and disorder that immediately followed, and associated with the astonishing event, will submit to no description. It is a fact, however, which none can deny or disprove, that not a single house belonging to any one member in the Methodist society was injured, though the flames occasionally came near them. An Infidel may attribute this to chance; but a Christian will see and acknowledge in it the hand of God.

A pious young woman had removed out of that part which was destroyed, only a few days before, and by that means preserved her property from destruction. Had she been in the place of her former residence, not a single article would probably have escaped. On this occasion also, the Infidel and the Christian are fairly at issue: the latter ascribes it to providence, and the former to chance.

The following little circumstance may not be unworthy of notice, however trifling it may appear in itself. In the height of that confusion which the fire occasioned, a gentleman (so called) was swearing most horribly; on which a negro, who had heard him, accosted him as follows: "Ah massa, no use curse and swear now; cursing and swearing do all dis."

The assembly-room in which Mr. Fish preached, and in which a grand ball had been given the night preceding the fire, was consumed; and the houses which had escaped, were so crowded with those inhabitants whose dwellings had been destroyed, that no place could be procured which would contain the congregation.

To add to that calamity which we have mentioned, another disaster almost instantly followed the fire, more serious in its nature, and more destructive in the consequences which it threatened;—the commencement of the Maroon War. Montego Bay was at no great distance from the haunts of the Maroons, and on that account lay exposed to dangers of the most alarming kind. Neither night nor day could promise safety. The restless activity of the savages bade defiance to calculation; they committed devastations both with sword and fire; and generally found means to elude the vigilance of every guard which was set to watch their movements, and to prevent their incursions.

All these events were unfriendly to the interests of the gospel. The attention of the inhabitants was entirely engrossed

with retrospection and anticipation: behind them they saw the fire, and before them the sword. The consequence was, that the congregation dwindled away, and almost every mind seemed wholly absorbed in these disasters. Our worthy missionary therefore, after labouring among them, almost in vain, for a considerable time longer, returned to Kingston, according to the discretionary power intrusted to him.

Having thus traced Mr. Fish to Montego Bay, and marked his exercises, successes, and disappointments, while he continued in that part of the island, it will be necessary to take a survey of the progress of religion in Kingston and its vicinity, which now more immediately fell under his particular care.

It has been already noted, that another missionary reached Kingston in July 1794; at which time Mr. Fish, resigning his charge, set off for Montego Bay. Nothing of any considerable import occurred in the early months after the arrival of the new missionary. The chapel in Kingston was well attended; the storms of persecution were dispersed; and a gradual increase of members took place in the societies, many of whom felt the powers of the world to come. At Port Royal, indeed, the society which had been formed appeared at first to be evidently on the decline. It was composed of persons, who had not properly counted the cost before they began to build: hence a degree of stupor seemed to have overtaken them, which it was not easy to shake off. But though Port Royal at first bore too strong a resemblance to Montego Bay, Kingston and its vicinity put on a different appearance. Even at Port Royal, toward the close of that year, a movement appeared. On some of the large sugar estates a door was also opened, which, for want of labourers, it was difficult to enter; but which, from the success it promised, it would have been unpardonable to neglect. So early as 1795, languor had given place to a spirit of hearing, in Port Royal; and so far had the work of God begun to revive, that several, who had been the avowed enemies of the cross of Christ, began to feel some relish for the things which made for their everlasting peace. The society, which had been reduced to a mere remnant, augmented in numbers, and a work of grace shone out afresh in almost every heart. From the spirit of hearing which prevailed, and the deep attention which was paid to the truths delivered, a great ingathering to the real church of Christ was expected. With these views before them, Mr. Fishley, master-builder at Port Royal harbour, a respected member of our society, wrote the following letter, dated March 26th, 1795.

"I trust, through your assistance and advice, our present worthy minister will be able to give a happy account of his mi-

sion. He is, in my opinion, well adapted to it; as he is simple, loving, persevering with all faithfulness, sparing not himself. I hope he will soon have work enough to employ two or three more; for there are daily invitations for him to preach to the poor blacks, from those who were not long since avowed enemies of all religion. I therefore think it highly necessary that he should have assistance as soon as convenient."

The religious state of Port Royal we may gather from the preceding letter; and this town and Kingston were the places which chiefly divided the missionary's labours. From the subsequent account it will evidently appear, that he had not spent his time in vain in either town. His letters evidently assure us, that though his endeavours had not been accompanied with that degree of prosperity which was equal to the ardency of his wishes, yet they had been so far crowned with success, as to leave but little room for complaint. His views of the state of religion, together with the impressions made on his mind at this time by the spiritual prospects with which he felt himself surrounded, are best expressed in his own words. The feelings of our bosoms must convince us, that when prosperity in the things of God accompany us in the discharge of our duties, the effects which result from favours received are most naturally expressed in the warm effusions of a grateful heart. Experience dictates this truth; and it is corroborated by the following letter, which is but an echo of what every pious mind would feel on a similar occasion.

LETTER I.

Dated Kingston, Jamaica, May 23, 1795.

"I take my pen to write to you; but hardly know what to say: only this, that considering the place and station I am in, and the state of our societies, I have great need of more grace, wisdom, and love, than I possess. And yet, glory be to God, I am not discouraged. I feel his comfortable presence with me, though the most unworthy of all his servants, and I hope I have an interest in your prayers.

"I use my endeavours to remove prejudices from the minds of the people, and, blessed be the Lord, I have met with great success. I have introduced evening preaching on Thursdays; and instead of 20 or 30 hearers, whom we used to have on Sundays at four in the afternoon, we have our chapel pretty well crowded with I suppose 8 or 900 hearers. Many merchants and principal inhabitants attend, and all are very quiet and attentive. We were obliged to move our singing-meeting from the school-room (which at last could not contain a fourth part of the people that attended) into the body of the chapel, and now the

chapel is well crowded at that meeting. May the Lord in tender mercy lay to his hand, and build us all up for his glory. We greatly need ministers that will speak boldly and cry aloud, men that are alive to God, and who will venture their lives and their all for God and for the poor negroes."

We may plainly gather from this letter, that though the state of religion in Kingston was not so high as our sanguine expectations might induce us to hope, yet the prospects were far from being of a discouraging nature. All circumstances considered, they were as favourable as could reasonably be expected. Multitudes were induced to hear the word; many had joined themselves to the society, and several had found peace with God.

That the labours of this missionary were not less prosperous after an abode of two months longer among the people of Kingston and Port Royal, the following letter will fully evince. The period of his residence assures us that his judgment must have been matured on the subject of his epistle; it was written when his situation must have been fully felt; when the observations of twelve months must have communicated all their intelligence; and when the influence of novelty must have ceased to charm. The prospects which were then before him promised much future success, and his letter on that account breathes a spirit of gratitude towards God.

LETTER II.

Dated Kingston, Jamaica, July 14, 1795.

"Blessed be God, we are increasing in number: we have no storms or persecutions from without. Our chapel is frequently pretty well filled with quiet and attentive hearers. I hope many of our society are growing in grace, in the love of God and of one another. Our singing-meetings are prudently and piously conducted; and I believe are very edifying, and made a great blessing to many. Through the tender mercy of our God, and his good hand being upon us, we are increasing in temporal blessings. Heaven and earth seem to help the woman:* O for gratitude! O for love! O for a spirit of thankfulness to God for all his mercies! Glory be to his name for his wonderful works to the children of men! O wretched man that I am, I am not half thankful enough: O for a heart overpowered, overwhelmed, and swallowed up with love to God!"

It is evident from these letters, that religion had made no inconsiderable progress in those parts of Jamaica to which the labours of this missionary had been applied. When a spirit

* Rev. xii. 16.

of hearing prevails, the attention is excited; and it is through this medium that sacred impressions are most frequently made. A spirit of hearing gives an undesigned sanction to the truths of the gospel, and softens the rigours of that prejudice which too often shuts the avenues of the soul. It is the only rational method through which the enemies of religion can form a proper estimate of those realities which they despise, and through which they may learn the fundamental evidences of those truths that they affect to deny.

This spirit of hearing, it is plain from the letters which we have cited, prevailed in Kingston; and though the society in that place experienced a gradual increase, yet it would be highly injudicious to conclude that the preaching of the gospel was productive of no benefit beyond these narrow confines. Impressions which were then made on the hearts of many, though they may languish for a season, may return again on some future day, and finally lead to consolation in a dying hour. Convictions thus received, may prepare the mind for the reception of the gospel in some other mode, while the original instruments are totally forgotten, and where they are entirely unknown. And it is not improbable, that on these accounts many are friendly to the gospel in various forms, from whom we might have expected hostility; and that the ministers of Christ find favour sometimes in the sight of those, from whom they had reason to look for the frowns and contempt of that carnal mind which is enmity to the things of God. We may, therefore, without fearing to incur censure, conclude, that in many places God works through the instrumentality of his servants, though in their own estimation they appear to have laboured in vain.

The gospel in the district of Kingston at this period was not exclusively confined to the towns. Some of the plantations on which were many hundreds of slaves, received the missionaries with all readiness. The proprietors were friendly to the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and multitudes of the enslaved negroes were willing to hear. The divine ardour by which the missionaries were actuated, prompted them to enterprise; and enterprise finally terminated in success. But these points will best appear by recurring to the account which one of them has transmitted of his journeys and prospects, in the mountainous parts, among those who had been destitute of the form of godliness.

LETTER III.

Kingston, Jamaica, July 21, 1796.

"As I am going a long journey into the mountains and plains, I mean the sugar-estates of St. George and St. Thomas,

I embrace this opportunity of writing to you a few lines, to inform you what a good work the Lord has begun by the weakest of his instruments.

"About five weeks ago, I went with permission to Spring Garden, one of the largest and best sugar plantations on the island, the property of the Honourable Mr. Shirley. On this plantation there were about 20 white men in offices, and six or seven hundred browns and negroes. At my first arrival the prospect appeared very gloomy and comfortless: all the whites laughed at the idea of preaching to the negroes; insomuch that brother Francis the leader, and two or three other brethren who went with me, were greatly discouraged. However, I was resolved to preach, and sound an alarm as often as I could, by night and by day, were it but under the shelter of the trees, or exposed to the burning sun. But God was better to us than our fears. Colonel ——, a great planter, and a very civil man, happening to dine there the next day, I had some conversation with him, and found he was no enemy to the gospel. He expressed a desire to hear me preach; and they offered me the great hall, where all the whites and about 300 browns and blacks assembled. Solemnity and attention appeared on every countenance, and all kneeled down to prayer. From that time the clouds dispersed. I preached five or six times at Spring Garden, which is 42 miles northward from Kingston. I am now going eastward to Petersfield; and from thence to an estate of Mr. Shirley's about 30 miles further. If the work prospers upon the sugar estates, the gospel will soon spread through all the island."

From this letter we learn the state of religion in the country parts of Jamaica, and the dispositions of the planters towards it. During the preceding year tranquillity prevailed in the towns. The congregations were large and respectable; so that those who were inclined to make disturbances, were awed into silence by the example and presence of the opulent and powerful, whom they durst not offend.

The prospects in Port Royal continued to brighten; the number of converts increased, and appearances in these departments of the island were highly favourable. Nor had they altogether proved delusive on the country estates in the following months; on the contrary, the power of divine grace was felt in many souls. And though the sanguine hopes which were entertained proved in some degree fallacious, the triumphs of the gospel were exceedingly great, as the following letter most fully evinces.

LETTER IV.

Kingston, Jamaica, Sunday, May 21, 1797.

"Having finished, by the grace of God, the labours of this

holy day, I am resolved, the Lord willing, early in the morning to set out for the mountains, and spend a week among the poor souls that are far from Kingston, and perhaps much farther from God. They have none to help them: God pity them!

"Dear Sir, you would rejoice to see the openings we have in this extensive island. We preach at Spring Garden, on the northern side of the island, and have about 50 in society. At Petersfield, on the eastern side, we have many more. Both these sugar estates belong to the Honourable Henry Shirley. He has two other estates in Trelawney; and the last time he was in town, he desired me to write to you for a minister for them. He will build a chapel, a house for the minister, and will give between £140 and £150 salary. I hope, dear Sir, you will not delay in sending one: a thousand souls are worth caring for.

"Our leaders go out to teach in several places; but having families, they cannot go far. When I first came here, we had five leaders; but, blessed be God, we have now twenty, and work enough for them all."

The state of Montego Bay was at this time not altogether unknown to the society in Kingston. The little success which Mr. Fish had met with after the dreadful calamities already recited, the increase of the ministerial labours in Kingston, and the pleasing prospects which appeared on some of the plantations, as stated in the preceding letter, combined together to urge his recal from this comparatively barren spot. These circumstances, co-operating with other causes, brought him to the field of action, where his colleague had been so peculiarly blessed.

It was in the month of August 1797, that Mr. Fish received letters from Kingston, stating the sudden but severe illness of his fellow-labourer, and soliciting his immediate return. This unexpected affliction, in conjunction with the incidents already mentioned, left but little room for uncertainty. The call appeared imperious, and urged him to obey. He advised the serious individuals among the free mulattoes and free blacks who resided in Montego Bay, to follow him, but could not prevail. They were now deprived of all external aid; but the promises of God were not withdrawn. To Him, therefore, who is both able and willing to keep from falling those who confide in him, and to the word of his grace, they were devoutly commended; and Mr. Fish, from a full conviction of duty, then took his most affectionate leave of them.

On his arrival in Kingston, he found that the members in society amounted to several hundreds: but, through the exces-

sive labour which had devolved on his fellow-missionary, discipline had been much neglected. Many among them, he soon discovered, were not only questionable characters, but unworthy the name of Methodists. Of these, he was obliged to exclude as many as fifty-one, some for the wilful neglect of the means of grace, some for disorderly conduct, and others for acts of immorality which would admit of no excuse.

His colleague, recovering from the severe illness with which in the month of August he had been so violently attacked, was enabled to visit some estates in the mountains: so that Mr. Fish was for a season left alone to divide his labours between Kingston and Port Royal, in both of which places he was particularly wanted. Of the state of religion in these towns, after having taken a survey of the congregations, and the numbers that composed the societies, he transmitted the following account.

LETTER V.

Dated Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 23, 1797.

"My colleague went into the country, intending to take a circuit of about ten days: but finding many doors unexpectedly opened, and a pleasing prospect of abundant success, he has now continued above three weeks, and will not return till after the next Sunday. Hitherto my employment has been chiefly in town, where (including Port Royal) we have constantly as much work as one missionary can attend to. Surely, if you saw the prospect of success which we have in this part of the island, and knew how distressed we are for want of more help, you would send us at least two or three fellow-labourers without delay.

"It is now the time of the quarterly visitation of the society. I am sorry to find that it will be necessary to exclude some, on account of their immoral lives. I have not yet gone through all the classes, and therefore cannot be very exact in the account; but I suppose there will remain in Kingston about 10 whites, 60 browns, and 250 blacks. Of the country I can give no regular account till my colleague returns.

"My regard for the people of Kingston is such, that I could rejoice to spend my last breath in serving them. Though I have so much work that sometimes I scarcely know what to do first, yet it is all pleasant and delightful: and though constantly engaged, in public or private, abroad or at home, from four in the morning till ten at night, I bless God, I scarcely know what fatigue or weariness is; so graciously has the Lord renewed my strength during my voyage from Montego Bay, and since my arrival here."

The letters which we have laid before the reader, uniformly concur in evincing the want of more missionaries. In compliance with these earnest solicitations, three were sent very early in 1798, whose names were Alexander, Campbell, and Fowler. Mr. Alexander arrived in March, and the two latter towards the end of April. Their numbers were now sufficient for every purpose: all those who were desirous to obtain instruction, could easily be attended; and the missionaries had an opportunity of making trial of some new places, in which the gospel had not yet been preached.

It has been an objection almost as old as Christianity, which has been urged against its advocates, that *these men are enemies to Cæsar;* and in all succeeding ages, from the first propagation of the gospel to the present day, it has been the common lot of religious people to be represented as disaffected to the government of the country under which they live. The Methodists in Jamaica were not without their share of this undeserved reproach.

In the beginning of April 1797, an opportunity offered of bringing this calumny to the test. A voluntary subscription was at that time set on foot, to assist the mother-country in carrying on the war. Although a poor people, the members of the various societies were emulous to unite with their fellow-subjects in testifying their inviolable attachment to the government and person of our most gracious sovereign. As individuals, their contributions would have been unworthy of notice; but as a collective body, their exertions were a sufficient answer to those calumnies which tended to injure their reputation. On the present occasion, they raised among themselves, by the most laudable exertions, in the course of a few days, the sum of £150; and such was the ardour which manifested itself on this occasion, that many among them declared they would rather dispose of some of their clothes, than omit contributing, when duty and affection equally excited them to action. Both whites and blacks united in the contribution; and even the slaves exerted themselves in testifying their loyalty at this important crisis; and it may be fairly questioned, whether any equal number of individuals in *similar* circumstances could be found in the whole island, whose zeal was more ardent, or whose efforts were more successful. Our loyalty as a body has been demonstrated by our actions; and on this subject we challenge the most rigorous investigation.

The limits of this department of our history will not permit us to enter into every minute particular. In 1801, the number of members in society amounted nearly to six hundred through the whole island. Many of these enjoyed the pardoning love of

God, and all manifested a sincere desire of being experimentally acquainted with him. The societies might probably be multiplied by six, to give the amount of all the regular congregations, including all colours and complexions. There were also nine local preachers or exhorters, who spoke in public for God, and warned their brethren to flee from the wrath to come. These were either blacks or people of colour. Their lives were pious; they were admirably adapted for the work in which they were engaged; and, however the voice of prejudice may exclaim against the intellectual powers of those who are of African birth and extraction, certain it is, that the abilities of these men were far from being contemptible.

The rules which had been adopted for the internal regulation of the societies, divided the men from the women, and placed each sex in separate classes. They met at different times, and most of the female classes had a female leader. Four public prayer-meetings were regularly held in different parts of Kingston every week; and every morning at five o'clock, and also on Thursday evening, a sermon or public lecture was commonly given. Thus public meetings for prayer, and public service in the chapel, visiting the sick, comforting the afflicted, reproving the disobedient, and superintending the classes, left but little room, either to extend the work further abroad in different parts, or to permit the missionaries to waste their time in indolence and sloth.

In the month of April 1802, however, some of the local preachers belonging to the society in Kingston paid a visit to Morant Bay, and found many of the inhabitants of that place much disposed to hear the word of God expounded, and to join in public worship. They were seconded in their endeavours by Mr. Fish and Mr. Campbell. The word which was delivered, had its desired effect upon many. In the beginning of July a society was formed consisting of about thirty persons, which, by the ensuing November, had augmented to ninety. A spirit of hearing continued, and a pleasing prospect was held out of much future success. The congregations increased, and the work of God was carried on in the midst of that persecution which the rabble in most new places think it their duty to promote: but God supported his servants while they were surrounded with dangers; and while he protected them on every side, he prospered the work of their hands.

The more malignant enemies of Christianity did not relish this progress of religion. Like the infidel Sadducees, mentioned Acts iv. 1—3. and v. 17, 18. they were filled with indignation at seeing the reform which had been produced in the manners of those who had been their companions in guilt.

The sentiments of these men could not fail to be known to the rabble, and this gave a sanction to their outrages; so that interruptions became more frequent and more formidable. In consequence of these disturbances, an application was made for a licence for the houses in which the meetings were held; but this was refused by the magistrates. On the contrary, these houses were represented, as nuisances, to the quarter-sessions of the parish. The justices accordingly gave orders that the houses should be indicted at the next quarter-sessions, and the prosecution began accordingly. But the enemies of religion finding nothing to bring against either preacher or people, that would bear inspection, as being hostile to the laws either of God or man, they were compelled, however reluctantly, to give it up.

As no legal opposition could be made, the meetings continued, without sustaining any other interruption than that which we have already noticed, from those of the populace who neither feared God nor regarded man. A few disorderly individuals, indeed, from whose stations in life a superior mode of conduct might have been expected, gave by their example some countenance to the mob; but all these were insignificant circumstances. The cause of God rose triumphant over these oppositions; many were added to the infant church, and gave reason to hope that they were added also to its spiritual Head.

In this state of progressive prosperity things went on till December 1802; when an Act, evidently subversive of the Toleration Act of Great Britain, and most opposite to the spirit of our excellent constitution, passed the legislative assembly of Jamaica. The dreadful effects of which this law was productive to the cause of religion in Jamaica, are almost incalculable. Not only the Methodist missionaries, but many pious and useful preachers of different denominations, were involved in its influence. Mr. Reid, the Scotch missionary, and Mr. Sweigle, the Baptist minister, together with all the local preachers and exhorters throughout the island, were silenced in an instant. As this Act was an evident violation of the rights of all British subjects professing the Protestant religion, we will lay it, *verbatim*, before our readers, and transmit it to posterity; that future generations may contemplate with astonishment the decision of a legislative assembly, given so late as the commencement of the nineteenth century. The following is an exact copy:

"An Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law.

I. "Whereas there now exists in this island an evil, which is daily increasing, and threatens much danger to the peace and

safety thereof, by reason of the preaching of ill-disposed, illiterate, or ignorant enthusiasts, to meetings of negroes and persons of colour, chiefly slaves, unlawfully assembled; whereby not only the minds of the hearers are perverted with fanatical notions, but opportunity is afforded to them of concerting schemes of much public and private mischief: *We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly, of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted and ordained by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passing of this Act, in case any person not duly qualified and authorized, or permitted, as is directed by the laws of this island and of Great Britain, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion, presume to preach or teach in any meeting or assembly of negroes or people of colour within this island; every such person shall be deemed and taken to be a rogue and vagabond, and within the intent and meaning of this Act, and be punished in the manner hereafter mentioned.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it may and shall be lawful for any magistrate of the parish wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, on complaint made to him on oath, or upon his own hearing or view, to cause the offender to be apprehended and committed to the common gaol; and shall forthwith associate with himself two other justices of the peace of the same parish; and have authority to summon all persons, capable of giving evidence, to appear before them; which three magistrates, so associated, shall, upon due conviction of the offender, adjudge him or her, if of free condition, to be committed to the workhouse, there to be kept to hard labour, for the first offence for the term of one month, and for every subsequent offence for the term of six months, each: and in case the offender shall be a slave, such offender shall for the first offence be committed for hard labour to the nearest workhouse for one month, and for every subsequent offence to be sentenced to receive a public flogging, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes: provided always, that whenever the offence committed by a white person shall appear of extraordinary heinousness, it shall and may be lawful for any one or more of the justices of the peace, and he and they are hereby required, to secure the appearance of any such offender at the next subsequent supreme or assize court, by sufficient bail or commitment, to answer for the offence; *and, on conviction, to suffer such punishment as such court shall see fit to inflict, not extending to life.*

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this Act, in case any owner,

possessor, or occupier of any house, outhouse, yard, or other place whatsoever, shall knowingly permit any meeting or assembly of negroes, or people of colour, for the purpose of hearing the preaching or teaching of any person of the description hereinbefore declared to be a rogue and vagabond, every person so permitting such meeting or assembly shall, on conviction thereof before the court of quarter-sessions of the same parish or precinct, incur a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, at the discretion of the said court, and be committed to the common gaol until such fine be paid, and until the offender shall have given security for his future good behaviour, by recognizance for such time, and in such sum, and with such sureties, as the court shall judge fit.

" *Passed the Council,* 18*th Dec.* 1802.
M. ATKINSON *Cl. Con.*"

" *Passed the Assembly, this* 17*th Day of Dec.* 1802.
P. H. REDWOOD, *Speaker.*"

" *I consent, this* 18*th Day of Dec.* 1802, G. NUGENT."

The law which we have given above, sets out with insinuating, that some ill-disposed, illiterate, and ignorant enthusiasts, endanger by their preaching, &c. the peace and safety of the island. That these insinuations were perfectly unfounded, appears demonstrable from a train of circumstances; and that the framers and supporters of this Act fully designed to put an end to the preaching of the Methodist missionaries, will leave no room for a moment's doubt. If the above insinuations were true, why, we would ask, did they not support these insinuations by facts? If they could, they were bound in justice to themselves, and to the safety of the island, to have done it; and if they could not, they ought not to have passed the law. If the accusations were true, they ought to have been substantiated; and if false, they ought not to have been made.

That evidences against those whom the law considered as delinquents were not difficult to obtain, if the charges had been true, is apparent from the nature of the alleged offences; but nothing of that kind, which the preamble to the Act so speciously sets forth, could ever be made to appear. Nay, not a single attempt was ever made to substantiate the accusations which were made the pretence for calling the Act into being. Not a single expression, dropped by any of the missionaries, was ever charged with disloyalty; nor was any thing which could sanction the insinuations that we now investigate, ever attempted to be inferred and made out from either the words or actions of the missionaries.

Instead of being able to substantiate, by specific facts, the charges which apparently rendered the Act necessary, the very

evidences which were procured to convict the missionaries of the guilt of preaching, invariably bore their testimony in favour of their peaceable demeanor. On the trial of Mr. Williams, of Morant Bay, when the witnesses were interrogated, whether or not they had ever heard any thing of improper doctrine from any of our preachers, which could tend to mislead the minds either of slaves or of other persons, they invariably answered, that they never had.

The Act was no sooner passed into a law, than it was ordered to be promulgated in the public newspapers; and on the twenty-fifth of December, 1802, it appeared in print. It soon circulated through the island; and in the course of a few days reached Morant Bay, the place in which persecution seemed to have taken up its principal abode.

The title of the Act, and that clause which prohibited all "persons from preaching, who were not duly qualified and authorized, or permitted, as was directed by the laws of the island and of Great Britain," was understood to apply to those only who had not obtained a qualification agreeably to the injunctions of the Act of Toleration in England. And in the confidence of this persuasion, the missionaries, conscious of their legal qualifications, continued to preach without the apprehension of any interruption; but in this they soon found themselves much deceived, as the sequel will evince.

During the time that genuine religion had been prospering in Morant Bay, it had pleased infinite Goodness to raise up a Mr. Williams, a free man of colour, who, in the capacity of a local preacher, was very serviceable in promoting the work that had been begun. Mr. Williams was of a most exemplary character, and possessed abilities calculated for great usefulness. As he had not, however, been regularly qualified, he came immediately within the letter of the law; and, to avoid its penalties, refrained from speaking. He was the more readily induced to this, as the quarter-sessions was at hand; to which he intended to apply, to obtain those qualifications which the law appeared to demand.

However, he soon found himself greatly mistaken in his expectations. The law was read at the quarter-sessions; and orders were given to have the Act enforced in all its rigour, and that copies should be posted in the most conspicuous places of the parish, that ignorance of its existence might not furnish any one with a plea for infringing it.

Mr. Williams, together with two other local preachers, then appeared before the sessions, and solicited to be qualified according to law; but, instead of obtaining that grant which they requested, they were ordered away by the chief magistrate;

who at the same time observed, "that they ought to be committed for daring to address the court." This remarkable instance of lenity was manifested on the 4th of January, 1803.

On the evening of the following day, about twenty serious persons assembled, among whom was Mr. Williams. They sung a few hymns, joined together in prayer to God, and then retired; without attempting, either by preaching or teaching, to violate the law that was to be so rigorously enforced.

"Sanguinary laws (says a great modern writer) are never in want of agents to execute them, nor of individuals to inform against those who offend." This was particularly the case at Morant Bay. An information was instantly lodged against those who had assembled. The magistrates took Mr. Williams's conduct into consideration, and viewed it in a very serious light. It was considered as preaching, and the next day he was apprehended, and taken before five magistrates. Several witnesses were then produced to prove what Mr. Williams had no intention to deny; but none of them could prove that he had been either preaching or teaching in the sense that the law meant. It was, however, satisfactorily demonstrated, that he had been *guilty both of singing and praying*, and of these complicated crimes Mr. Williams stood convicted.

The magistrates observed, that these proceedings were an evident evasion of the law, and that Mr. Williams had subjected himself to the penalty which it had threatened to inflict. Mr. Williams told them, that he had no conception that singing a few hymns, and praying, was either preaching or teaching; and that if it were, he had applied for a qualification, and had been refused. His trial was quickly dispatched; so that he had neither time nor use for any further defence.

It was on this trial that the witnesses were asked by Mr. Williams, whether they had ever heard any improper doctrines from the preachers, or any thing that could tend to mislead the minds either of the slaves or of other persons? Their answers were decidedly in favour of the preachers. The fear of detaching the slaves from due subordination, has always been made the pretext for prohibiting preaching; but, notwithstanding this pretended or imaginary danger, nothing has ever been adduced from real observation to prove the truth of such assertions. The fact, indeed, is exactly the reverse: the more the fear of God takes place in the hearts of those people, the more obedient and subordinate they are: and this change is evident in those of the Methodist societies.

Mr. Williams, having been found guilty of that species of *singing* which meant *preaching*, was sentenced to one month's hard labour in the work-house, and was instantly removed from

trial to punishment. Whether this punishment, however, was thought to be too severe, or that it would appear odious in the eyes of the public, it is difficult to say; but the fact was, that instead of chaining him, and putting him to labour with the runaway slaves, which was the import of his commitment, the gaoler had directions to keep him closely confined in the gaol or work-house during the period above stated.

The room in which he was confined was close, and the floor paved with brick; but, what was of greater consequence, the apartment, taken all together, was exceedingly damp; so that an infliction of this nature is sometimes attended with the most fatal effects in the insalubrious dungeons of Jamaica.

In the midst of this confinement, he found the consolations of God neither to be few nor small: he knew in whom he had believed; his trust was in the living God, and his mind was kept in perfect peace. He felt the supporting grace of the Redeemer, in whose cause he was called unjustly to suffer, and was preserved without a disposition to murmur at this afflictive dispensation.

Indeed, so graciously was he preserved, that, though confined in this solitary mansion, the rheumatic pains, under which he had occasionally laboured, did not increase upon him during his imprisonment; and he was finally liberated without sustaining any bodily injury. What added to his consolation was, to hear that the society remained unshaken in the midst of these troubles, and evinced their faith by their love and zeal for God. The conduct of all was exemplary and peaceable on these trying occasions; so that, though in the furnace of affliction, they could plainly perceive the compassionate hand of God.

The period of Mr. Williams's imprisonment being expired, he was directed to find bail for his appearance at the next quarter-sessions, to be tried for the penalty which the law inflicts on the owners or possessors of houses in which prayer and preaching had been practised: with this direction he refused to comply; he was therefore kept in confinement another day; and when they found he would not accept of liberty upon such unworthy conditions, they thought proper to sign his discharge, and he was accordingly released.

This worthy man, however, had scarcely been liberated an hour, before Mr. Campbell, one of the missionaries, was brought to the same room to supply his place. He had been guilty of a similar offence, had been apprehended by the same authority, tried by the same magistrates, and committed to the same prison. To give, therefore, in detail some of the leading features of his guilt, and of the circumstances of his trial and punish-

ment, it will be necessary to carry back our views to the period in which Mr. Williams was first confined, because the narratives of both are closely connected.

Mr. Campbell, hearing that Mr. Williams had been taken up and confined because he had joined with others in singing and prayer, repaired immediately to Morant Bay; and, considering himself properly qualified, he made no scruple to preach soon after his arrival. The licence which he had obtained previously to his leaving England, was at this time deemed legal; and therefore, notwithstanding the late law, he felt himself secure. The Toleration Act of England had given to it the legality on which he rested; and neither himself, nor Mr. Fish, had any conception that the late act was intended to operate in direct contravention to an established law of the mother-country. The people of Morant Bay, in consequence of the imprisonment of Mr. Williams, were much afflicted; but they had placed their repose in the promises of God, and rejoiced exceedingly when they found that the missionaries had not deserted them in the midst of their distress.

The first evening that Mr. Campbell attempted to speak in public, he was apprehended, and taken before one of the magistrates who resides in the place. He was interrogated on his conduct, and produced his licence, as containing that qualification which exempted him from the penal part of the law. The magistrate concurred with him in this sentiment, telling him that it would do for the present, and he was fairly dismissed without either injunction or compromise.

On this discharge Mr. Campbell continued to preach for several days without any legal interruption whatsoever. But it was not long before he received various intimations that some misfortune awaited him, though he knew not precisely in what particular form. In consequence of this information, he returned to Kingston, to take the advice of counsel on the legality of his licence, as it stood in relation to the new law; and being informed by the professional gentlemen whom he consulted, that his licence gave him all the qualification which was necessary, he returned again to Morant Bay, and continued to preach in public, as he had been accustomed prior to the passing of the new law.

In this mode of conduct Mr. Campbell continued until the 7th of February 1803; when he was apprehended and taken before four magistrates, among whom was the very person who had previously given him his discharge. On the appearance of the culprit, they asked him if he was aware of the law which forbade unqualified persons to preach? To this his reply was, "that he did not consider himself of that descrip-

tion, as he had qualified himself under the laws of England." He then produced his licence; upon the reading of which, one of the magistrates observed, that it was his opinion that Mr. Campbell's licence was not sufficient, and that he came under the penalty of the new law. Mr. Campbell said in reply, that he had not come thither without advice. He was then called upon to make his defence. He inquired what law of the island was against his licence. The answer he received was, that he might propound questions, but they were not obliged to answer him. Mr. Campbell then observed, that if that were the case, it was of no use for him to say any thing in his defence. Here the altercation ended, and Mr. Campbell was committed to prison.

In this abode of solitude Mr. Campbell was not long confined; but while he was in prison, he was kept so closely that none but his wife and children were (during part of the time) permitted to remain in the room with him. Through the iron gratings of his windows, his friends were permitted to converse with him occasionally; and he found means, though thus immured, to exhort them to be steadfast and immoveable in the ways of God, and to look beyond the cloudy dispensation which then overwhelmed them. From the consolations which he felt in his own soul, he was enabled to impart comfort to others, and to exhort them to hold fast whereunto they had attained, and to urge, undaunted, their way to eternal life.

He had not been confined many days before he obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus, to remove his body before the supreme court of judicature, which was then sitting: he was accordingly conducted thither; and his cause was heard before the chief justice of the island and two assistant judges.

Mr. Campbell's counsel pointed out, in a masterly and perspicuous manner, that he did not come under that description of persons which the law intended to forbid; but that he had been legally qualified under the laws of Great Britain; and he challenged the opposite counsel to produce any law of the island under which Mr. Campbell could further qualify, to exempt himself from those charges which were now brought against him. The opposite counsel entered largely into those imaginary dangers which resulted from preaching to mulattoes and slaves, but without attempting to bring home the charges upon Mr. Campbell, or to adduce any specific instances in support of the theory which he advanced. It was a declamation, which rather apologized for the law, than criminated the defendant; and rested upon hypothetical possibility, without any personal application.

Mr. Campbell, however, was found guilty of preaching at Morant Bay, and nothing could be said in his behalf. There

were sufficient evidences of his guilt, and he was finally condemned. The chief justice, indeed, was of opinion, that Mr. Campbell's licence was sufficient; but the majority of the court being of a different judgment, he was obliged to give way, and to pronounce that they (the majority) were of opinion, that Mr. Campbell's licence was not sufficient to protect him from the penalty of that law which he had broken.

On the second day after these transactions, another hearing took place on the validity of his commitment; in which it was satisfactorily proved, from several law-cases, that it was not valid either in form or substance. But these cases were overruled, and found to be of no avail. The chief justice, indeed, seemed evidently of opinion, that the informalities and defects in the commitment were fatal to it; but the other judges were of a different way of thinking. Indeed, it appeared highly probable, that if the decision of the case had been entirely left to the chief justice, Mr Campbell would have been acquitted.

The trial and imprisonment of Mr. Campbell became an instructive lesson to Mr. Fish, who stood nearly in the same predicament. From the circumstances of that trial, he learned that it would be necessary to apply to the quarter-sessions for a licence for himself; as the late decision had informed him that his authority was nearly as illegal as that of Mr. Campbell. The quarter-sessions in Kingston happening the day after this decision, Mr. Fish applied accordingly; but much hesitation took place. However, on his producing his letters of ordination, he, and he only, was permitted to take the oaths prescribed by the Toleration Act of Great Britain.

Previously to the application of Mr. Fish, hopes were entertained by some, that licences might be procured by the local preachers; but others, who were better acquainted with the state of things, were less sanguine. The difficulty, however, with which Mr. Fish obtained his licence, rendered it perfectly useless for any of the local preachers to apply. They were waiting in the court at the time that he succeeded; but not being able to produce those testimonials of ordination through which he had been successful, their application would only have exposed them to the censure of the court; and therefore they desisted.

When the new law was published, which was on Christmas day, the Baptists, who were somewhat numerous in the island, ceased to assemble to worship God; and the reason of this conduct was, because Mr. Swiegle, their pastor, was a man of colour. Mr. Reid, the Scotch minister, who, like Mr. Swiegle, was an excellent and pious man, was reduced to the same dilemma: this minister ceased preaching also; not because he was

afraid of imprisonment, but because the people were afraid to hear him. The houses in which prayer-meetings had usually been held, could be opened for that purpose no longer; and those who had been accustomed to officiate on these occasions were under the necessity of being silent.

The success, however, of Mr. Fish in obtaining a licence, though accompanied with the utmost difficulty, emboldened Mr. Swiegle and Mr. Reid to apply for liberty to preach to their respective congregations; but their applications were made in vain. Mr. Campbell, after having performed his quarantine, was at length liberated from the workhouse, or house of correction, to remain in silence, or to commit new *crimes!* He, notwithstanding, repaired to Kingston, and obtained a licence about the middle of May, as Mr. Fish had done before, from the quarter-sessions held in that place.

On this occasion, Mr. Fish observes, in a letter dated May the 20th, 1803, as follows: "In consequence of Mr. Campbell's having obtained a licence, the mouths of two of us are open: but it was in vain for our exhorters to apply; nay, even Mr. Warren, although a white man, and a most excellent person, was refused. The only objection against him was, his not being in holy orders. It is not yet certain, whether our licences obtained in Kingston will be allowed as valid in any other parish. In the mean time, thank God! our congregations in Kingston are rather increased than diminished; and the society, during the last six months, is augmented from 435 to 515. Most of our Morant Bay friends continue steadfast, although in the midst of foes, and deprived of the public means of grace. Those who are able, do not think it too much to travel thirty-one miles to Kingston, to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel. In the mean time, the situation of the Baptists is truly deplorable. We have one place open, and two preachers allowed to work; but they, as to public ordinances, are altogether destitute."

Mr. Campbell, having obtained this licence in Kingston, once more made his appearance at Morant Bay, in company with Mr. Fish. They went at the time of the quarter-sessions, and presented a written petition to the magistrates, praying for a licence for a house in that place in which they had been accustomed to meet: at the same time they observed, that they had been duly qualified in Kingston, according to the Toleration Act; but that they were willing to take the oaths again, if required. The Court did Messrs. Fish and Campbell the favour to read their petition; which was then returned by the chairman, with this reply, "The magistrates are unanimously resolved to grant no licences."

The business, however, did not terminate here. The magistrates now revived a branch of the prosecution which had been dropped for the space of three months, and issued a warrant to apprehend Daniel Campbell and John Williams, and to lay them under the penalty of £100, which, according to the new law and their interpretation of it, they had incurred, as occupiers and possessors of the meeting-house at the time of their being prosecuted for preaching. In consequence of these proceedings, a constable was repeatedly sent to Kingston (thirty-one miles) with full directions to take Mr. Campbell into custody: providentially, however, he always escaped capture. But, understanding that if they once took him, they were resolved not only to enforce the penalty of £100, but to require such securities as he could not possibly give, he found it useless either to contend or to make any appeal. In order, therefore, to avoid perpetual imprisonment, he meditated his departure from the island; and, after meeting with the full approbation of his friends on the propriety of the measure, he embarked for England as soon as an opportunity presented itself, and arrived in London November the 27th, 1803.

One remark is here worthy of peculiar observation. At the time that Messrs. Fish and Campbell applied to the quarter-sessions of Morant Bay for a licence for a house, the parish was totally destitute of a minister: the rector, through ill health, had been obliged to quit the island, and no curate could be procured to supply his place; so that the whole parish was destitute of public worship.

An event happened about this time, which is worthy of notice: a letter from Jamaica, dated July 23, 1803, observes as follows: "Two negroes were executed on the parade in Kingston a short time since, for being ring-leaders of a gang of negroes, who were to have set fire to Kingston, and murdered all the whites: a number of the rest, I understand, are to be sent off the island. How thankful ought we to be, that not one of these was found to be a hearer of the teaching and preaching of the persons who are deemed to be rogues and vagabonds by our late law!"

No doubt can be entertained, that the execrable villanies of these incendiaries would have been imputed to the Methodists, if any one of the delinquents had been in the habit of attending their ministry. This, under existing circumstances, would have been made a pretext for prohibiting their public worship; and it must be acknowledged, that it would have given sanction to the severities which have hitherto been exercised without a cause: for though, in case such an event had happened, there would have been no necessary connection between the

effect and the supposed cause; yet men acting under the dominion of prejudice, would gladly have availed themselves of such a specious opportunity, without leaving any room for discrimination.

The gospel, in all its forms, is calculated to reform mankind; those, therefore, who are placed in power must be insensible to their secular interests, if they will not avail themselves of its assistance when placed within their reach. The dictates of policy, in this view, co-operate with the principles of revelation, and link together the temporal and eternal interests of the human race.

At the period in which this attempt was made to destroy Kingston by fire, upwards of 500 were in the Methodist society in that town, and not one was implicated in the charge. May we not then reasonably presume, that if the number of members had amounted to as many thousands, all would have been exempted from this atrocious sin? And may we not also presume, that if those, whose lives were justly sacrificed for their crimes, had been permitted to attend the instructions of the missionaries, such a reformation might have been wrought, as would have led them to abhor that wickedness which they were about to perpetrate? Reason tells us, that this might have been the case; and we are warranted in drawing these probable conclusions.

May we not also, on the opposite side of this question, presume, that those who are now pious might have joined their companions in guilt, if there had been no reformation by the exertions of the missionaries; in which case the concerted plan might have been carried into execution; the town might have been reduced to ashes; and those, who oppose the progress of religion, might have weltered in their blood. We cannot trace the intricacies of Providence, nor penetrate the latent purposes of God, who frequently makes use of mediums for the safety of ungrateful man, which we neither suspect nor know. Even Morant Bay may be indebted for its preservation to those pious persons who have been treated with so much severity: we know not what schemes might have been concerted for its desolation, which God has kindly prevented by introducing the gospel, and by reforming those who might have been the projectors of unheard-of crimes.

Sooner or later, wickedness defeats its own purposes, and procures for its authors those calamities which it intended to avoid. We see this exemplified in many instances here below; there are many others, without doubt, that are not less certain, though invisible; and many more still we shall behold, when the light of eternity shall dispel the shadows of time.

Reformation stands opposed to vice; and it is both the duty and interest of communities, and individuals, to promote the former, as the only effectual way to repel the latter. The warnings which God has given to the island of Jamaica have been both numerous and awful. "What has thus frequently appeared (says a late author) will probably happen again; and the insolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a lesson of humility from the contemplation."

The removal of Mr. Campbell, and the silencing of the local preachers, both whites and blacks, placed Mr. Fish in an arduous situation. It is true, his labours were confined to Kingston, because the severity of the law forbade him to enter as a missionary in any other part. But his public preaching in Kingston, both mornings and evenings, the care of the classes, and the superintendance of all, left no vacant periods for preaching in other places, if favourable opportunities had been permitted to offer: this, however, the law which has been already transcribed absolutely precluded; and as Mr. Fish was the only missionary in the island, he could not be idle, though the distant societies were obliged to languish without any public guide.

In this state the missionary affairs of Jamaica continued for some time, without any material occurrence. No interruption was offered in Kingston; and, notwithstanding the commotions which had been occasioned, the congregations continued large, and the members of the society gradually increased. Towards the close of the year 1803, Mr. Fish states the number and condition of the society to be as follows:

"The number of members in Kingston (the only society of which it is possible for me to make any regular return) was at the September visitation 530;" of whom there were 14 whites, 98 browns, and 418 blacks; of these, 482 were baptized, and the remaining 48 were catechumens. Those of free condition amounted to 246, and those that were enslaved to 284. Of men the number was 201, and of women 329: three only had paid the debt of nature between March and September; which, considering the sickly season of the year, was the smallest number that had been known for a series of years. Of those who had departed this life, Mr. Fish speaks as follows:

"Patience Jackson sincerely feared, and, I trust, loved God, and walked according to the gospel. Her death was sudden, so that no particular account of it can be given."

"Thomas Hay was many years a pious and exemplary Christian. He bore his last illness with much patience, and calm resignation to the will of God. The last time I saw him was the day before he died: he was then insensible, and was there-

fore unable to express his state, to tell his consolations, and his prospects of eternity, or to unbosom either his hopes or fears. But from that unshaken confidence in the Redeemer which he had constantly expressed, and from the genuine Christian temper that he had continued to evidence, there is no cause to doubt of his eternal happiness."

"Margaret Frances was a very old member of the Methodist society; she belonged to our connexion on the continent, and has since been well known in some of the Windward Islands. She came hither from St. Kitt's, well recommended by Mr. Brownwell. Her sickness was short, and not thought to be dangerous till the very last hour. She was zealous for God, and alive in every duty."

"Comparing this letter with a former one (continues Mr. Fish), you will find, that the Kingston society continues to increase, but not rapidly. Our congregations are large; especially at the five o'clock morning lectures, which for some time past have been better attended than I ever knew them to be before."

Though the Act had operated in all its rigour on those against whom it was directed, its day of triumph was but short. By the constitution of Jamaica, the law which we contemplate could only claim, through the legislative powers of the island, a temporary existence. The permanency of its duration, depended upon the royal assent. To ratify or nullify colonial laws, is a branch of the royal prerogative. Without the approbation of His Majesty, permanency can have no connexion with law.

That particular regard which his present Majesty has shewn to the liberties of his Protestant subjects, and to their rights of worshipping God agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences, will transmit his name to posterity, as the father of his people, and a friend to the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is by his favourable interposition, under the grace of God, that pure religion has been permitted to diffuse itself through his dominions; and his benevolence has riveted to his person the affections of a grateful people. They bear him in the arms of faith and prayer to the throne of grace; and there is reason to believe, that God has prolonged his valuable life in answer to their supplications.

The rigour which was aimed at by the law in question, defeated the purposes for which it was passed: His Majesty, disapproving of every species of persecution, signified his disapprobation of it, and granted to his people in Jamaica the same religious liberty which their fellow-subjects enjoyed at home. The royal determination was soon wafted across the Atlantic; and the newspapers, which in 1802 had announced its existence,

were employed in 1804 to declare that His Majesty had disallowed the law, and that it consequently was annulled.

It is with a degree of pleasure, which in some measure compensates for our former sorrow, that we transcribe the following paragraphs from the Royal Gazette of Kingston in Jamaica: and we do it with the greater readiness, as it tends to mark *that* justice and toleration which have uniformly distinguished the conduct of our gracious Sovereign, since the providence of God raised him to the British throne. And as every friend to the sacred rights of conscience must rejoice in an action so worthy of a British monarch, a knowledge of the fact cannot fail to excite gratitude in every feeling heart. The extracts are as follow:

"*House of Assembly, December* 12, 1804. A message from his Honour the Lieutenant Governor by his secretary: 'Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to lay before the house an extract of a letter from Earl Camden, dated Downing-street, 7th of June, 1804, together with the draught of a bill which his Honour has been instructed to propose to the house to be passed into a law.'

"Extract of a letter from the Right Honourable Earl Camden to Lieutenant General Nugent, dated Downing-street, June 7th, 1804.

"Sir, I herewith transmit to you an order of his Majesty in council, dated April 23d last, disallowing an Act passed by the legislative of the island of Jamaica in December 1802, entitled, 'An Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law;' and a further order of His Majesty in council of the same date, to which is annexed the draught of a bill upon the same subject, which, in compliance with the directions contained in the said order, I am to desire you will take an early opportunity of proposing to the Assembly to be passed into law."

"Ordered, That the above message, and the papers sent down therewith, do lie on the table for the perusal of the members."

"*House of Assembly, Dec.* 17*th*, 1804.

"The above message and papers being referred to a committee on the state of the island,

"The House resolved itself into such committee; and, being resumed, reported resolutions, which were agreed to, *nem. con.* as follows:

"To send a message to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, to acquaint him, that in consequence of his Honour's message of the 12th instant, accompanied with a report from the Board of Lords of Trade and Plantations to His Majesty, and